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LECTURES

ON

PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

VOL. V

(Āhnikas 15 to 22)

P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri

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विषय संख्या 491.25
पुस्तक संख्या Su1 C.1
आगत पञ्जिका संख्या 53,912

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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Volume V

(ĀHNIKAS 15 to 22)

CHECKED 1973
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(*Vidyāratna, Vidyānidhi, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vāṇī-trivēṇī-prayāga*)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI
1957

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PREFACE

This volume contains eight *āhnikas* starting with the first *āhnika* of the fourth *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* and ending with the first *āhnika* of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya.*

I am grateful to the Sahitya Akademi for financial assistance in the publication of this volume. I heartily thank the Madras School Book and Literature Society for having made a grant of Rs. 125 and Rs. 165 for vols. 3 & 4 and Kāñcī Kāmakōṭi Muṭṭ, Kumbhakonam, Annamalai University and University of Travancore for having purchased 20, 10, 10 copies of each volume for their libraries.

May Mother Sivakāmasundarī and Lord Naṭarāja enable me complete the publication of the remaining seven volumes!

Tiruchirapalli,
20—11—57.

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॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥
चोक्कनाथं मखिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणश्शिष्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥
नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥
वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मरूर्ग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताद्यर्थप्रकाशम् ॥
प्रणम्य तान् गुरून् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे आङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥

Printed at
The Trichinopoly United Printers Limited,
Tiruchirapalli–2.

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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

Volume V

Fifteenth Āhnika

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, first *āhnika*)

आ कडारादेका संज्ञा (1, 4, 1)

Two topics are found here:—(1) Merits and defects in the readings *Ā kaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā* and *Prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam*. (2) Benefits of this *sūtra*.

I—i

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते? What purpose is served by this *sūtra*?

अन्यत्र संज्ञासमावेशान्नियमार्थं वचनम्

This is for the sake of *niyama* on account of *samāvēśa* being found elsewhere.

अन्यत्र संज्ञासमावेशो भवति

There is concourse of different *saṁjñās* elsewhere.

कान्यत्र? What does *anyatra* refer to?

लोके व्याकरणे च Both in the world and in *Vyākaraṇa*.

लोके तावत् - इन्द्रः शक्रः पुरुहूतः पुरन्दरः, कन्दुः कोष्ठः कुसूलः इति। एकस्य द्रव्यस्य बह्वयः संज्ञा भवन्ति

Firstly in the world:—*Indra* is called *Indra*, *Śakra*, *Puruhūta*, *Purandara* etc. and *granary* is called *kandu*, *kōṣṭha*, *kusūla* etc. Many *saṁjñās* are found with reference to a single object.

NOTE:—Even though the words *indra*, *śakra*, *puruhūta* and *purandara* have different *pravṛttinimittas*, *Mahābhāṣya-kāra* has mentioned them here, since people use them to denote *Indra* without reference to their respective *pravṛtti-nimitta*.

व्याकरणेऽपि - कर्तव्यं हर्तव्यम् इत्यत्र प्रत्ययकृत्कृत्यसंज्ञानां समावेशो भवति। पाञ्चालः वैदेहः वैदर्भः इत्यत्र प्रत्ययतद्धिततद्राजसंज्ञानां समावेशो भवति।

In grammar too—there is concourse of the *saṁjñās* of *pratyaya*, *kṛt* and *kṛtya* with reference to *tavya* in the words *kartavyam*

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and *hartavyam* and of *pratyaya*, *taddhita* and *tadrāja* with reference to *añ* in the words *pāñcālaḥ*, *vāidēhaḥ* and *vāidarbhaḥ*.

अन्यत्र संज्ञासमावेशाद् एतस्मात्कारणाद् आकडारादपि संज्ञानां समावेशः प्राप्नोति । इष्यते चैकैव संज्ञा स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति इति नियमार्थं वचनम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते

Since there is concourse of *saṁjñās* elsewhere, there is chance for the same, of *saṁjñās* found before the *sūtra Kaḍārāḥ karmadhārayē* (2, 2, 38); but it is desired that there should be only one *saṁjñā* and it cannot be accomplished without effort and hence this *sūtra* is for the sake of *niyama*. This is the purpose served by this *sūtra*.

अस्ति प्रयोजनम् एतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

कथं त्वेतत्सूत्रं पठितव्यं, किम् आकडारादेका संज्ञा इति आहोस्वित् प्राक्कडारात्परं कार्यम् इति?

How is this *sūtra* to be read—*Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā* or *Prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam*?

कुतः पुनरयं सन्देहः? What is the source of this doubt?

उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः सूत्रं प्रतिपादिताः, केचिद् आकडारादेका संज्ञा इति, केचित् प्राक्कडारात्परं कार्यम् इति ।

For, the pupils were taught by the *Ācārya* both ways, some the form '*Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā*' and others the form '*Prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam*.'

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What will be the difference here?

तत्रैकसंज्ञाधिकारे तद्वचनम्

If it is *ēka-saṁjñā-adhikāra*, need of its mention.

तत्रैकसंज्ञाधिकारे तद् वक्तव्यम्

It should be mentioned, if it is *ēka-saṁjñā-adhikāra*.

किम्? What does *tad* refer to?

एका संज्ञा भवति इति

That there is *ēka-saṁjñā*. (i.e.) The expression *ēkā saṁjñā* should be read in the *sūtra*, as it is now read.

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ननु च यस्यापि परं कार्यत्वं तेनापि परग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Oh, the mention of the expression *param kāryam* is necessary even to him who holds it to be *paraṁkāryatva-adhikāra,* (i.e.) he has to read the *sūtra Ā-kaḍārāt paraṁ kāryam.*

परार्थं मम भविष्यति 'विप्रतिषेधे च'

It will be used in the next *sūtra*, so that it may be read *Vipratiṣēdhē ca* instead of *Vipratiṣēdhē paraṁ kāryam.*

ममापि तर्हि एकग्रहणं परार्थं भविष्यति सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ इति

If so, the word *ēka* here will be used also by me in the following *sūtra Sarūpāṇām ēkaśēṣa ēkavibhaktāu* (1, 2, 64).

NOTE :—Even though *Sarūpāṇām*...(1, 2, 64) is read in the second *pāda*, *ēka-saṁjñā-adhikāra-vādin* says that he will read it here.

संज्ञाधिकारश्चायम् । तत्र किमन्यच्छक्यं विज्ञातुमन्यदतः संज्ञायाः । तत्रैतावद् वाच्यम् 'आ कडारादेका'

This portion deals with *saṁjñā.* Hence which can be mentioned here other than *saṁjñā*? So it will suffice if the *sūtra* is read '*Ākaḍārād ēkā*.'

किम्? What does *ēkā* mean?

एका संज्ञा भवति इति – Only one *saṁjñā* sets in.

अङ्गसंज्ञया भपदसंज्ञयोरसमावेशः

Non-concourse of *bha-saṁjñā* and *padasaṁjñā* with *aṅgasaṁjñā*

अङ्गसंज्ञया भपदसंज्ञयोः समावेशो न प्राप्नोति, सार्पिष्कः, बार्हिष्कः, याजुष्कः, धानुष्कः, बाभ्रव्यः, माण्डव्य इति

There will be no chance for *bha-saṁjñā* and *padasaṁjñā* to exist together with *aṅga-saṁjñā*, as in *sārpiṣkaḥ*, *bārhiṣkaḥ*, *yājuṣkaḥ*, *dhānuṣkaḥ*, *bābhravyaḥ* and *māṇḍavyaḥ*.

NOTE :—It is through the *aṅga-saṁjñā*, the initial vowel of the words *sarpis*, *barhis*, *yajus* etc. has taken *vṛddhi* since they are followed by the *taddhitapratyayas ṭhak* etc. on the strength of the *sūtras Taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ.* (7, 2, 117) and *Kiti ca* (7, 2, 118).

अनवकाशे भपदसंज्ञे अङ्गसंज्ञां बाधेयाताम्

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The *saṁjñās bha* and *pada* being *anavakāśa* will set at naught *aṅga-saṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परंकार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

But, on the other hand, if *paravacana* is acceded to, both the *saṁjñās* can exist together on account of the absence of *niyama*. The simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* is settled to *paraṁ-kāryatva-vādin*.

कथम्? How?

पूर्वे तस्य भपदसंज्ञे, पराङ्गसंज्ञा

The *saṁjñās-bha* and *pada* precede the *saṁjñā-aṅga* according to him.

NOTE :—He has to explain his previous statement since the order of the *sūtras* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not agree with it. The order is as follows :—*Yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādipratyayē aṅgam* 1, 4, 13), *Svādiṣvasarvanāmasthānē* (*padam*) 1, 4, 17) *Yaci bham* 1, 4, 18).

कथम्? How?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्, नः क्ये, सिति च, स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने, यचि भम्, तस्यान्ते प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् इति । तत्र आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च भपदसंज्ञे, परङ्कार्यत्वाच्चाङ्गसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।

He will read the *sūtras* thus :—*Yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi suptiṅantam padam, Naḥ kyē, Siti ca, Svādiṣvasarvanāmasthānē, Yaci bham,* (at the end) *Pratyayēsṅgam.* First the *saṁjñās bha* and *pada* set in, since they are mentioned first. Then comes the *aṅga-saṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारस्तस्याप्यङ्गसंज्ञापूर्विके भपदसंज्ञे

Oh! the *saṁjñās bha* and *pada* are preceded by the *añga-saṁjñā* even to the *ēka-saṁjñādhikāra-vādin*.

कथम्? How?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते - *Anuvṛtti* (of *padasaṁjñā*) is done.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञेति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

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There will be chance for either of the two to operate. Since the *adhikāra* relates to *ēka-saṁjñā*, there is no chance for both to exist simultaneously.

कर्मधारयत्वे तत्पुरुषग्रहणम्

Mention of *tatpuruṣa* with reference to *karmadhāraya*.

कर्मधारयत्वे तत्पुरुषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारय इति

Mention should be made of *tatpuruṣa* with reference to *karmadhāraya* thus :—*Tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ* (as is done in 1, 2, 42).

एकसंज्ञाधिकार इति चोदितम् । अक्रियमाणे हि तत्पुरुषग्रहणे ह्यनवकाशा कर्मधारयसंज्ञा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञां बाधेत ।

It is said that this section is *ēka-saṁjñā-adhikāra*. If *tatpuruṣa* is not read, *karmadhārayasaṁjñā* which is *anavakāśa* will set at naught *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परंकार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

But, on the other hand, both the *saṁjñās* can simultaneously exist according to *paravacana*, since there is no *niyama*. Simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* on account of the absence of *niyama* according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin* is possible.

कथम् ? How ?

पूर्वा तस्य कर्मधारयसंज्ञा, परा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा

Karmadhārayasaṁjñā, according to him, precedes *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā*.

कथम् ? How ?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन कर्मधारय इति । एवं सर्वं कर्मधारयप्रकरणमनुक्रम्य तस्यान्ते श्रितादिभिस्तत्पुरुषः इति । तत्रारम्भसामर्थ्याच्च कर्मधारयसंज्ञा, परंकार्यत्वाच्च तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।

He will read thus :—*Pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakēvalāḥ samānādhikaraṇēna karmadhārayaḥ*. After reading all the *sūtras* relating to *karmadhāraya*, he will read at the end *Śritādibhis tatpuruṣaḥ*. *Karmadhārayasaṁjñā* will set in on account of *ārambhasāmarthya* and *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

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ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारः तस्यापि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञापूर्विका कर्मधारयसंज्ञा

Oh! *karmadhārayasaṁjñā* will be preceded by *tatpuruṣa-saṁjñā* even according to *ēkasaṁjñā-adhikāravādin*.

कथम् ? How ?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञेति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for either of the two to operate. Since the *adhikāra* relates to *ēka-saṁjñā*, there is no chance for both to exist simultaneously.

तत्पुरुषे द्विगुचग्रहणम्

Need of reading *ca* along with *dvigu* with reference to *tatpuruṣa*.

तत्पुरुषे द्विगुचग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - तत्पुरुषः द्विगुश्च इति चकारः कर्तव्यः

There is need to read *ca* after *dvigu* with reference to *tatpuruṣa*. *Cakāra* is to be read thus :—*Tatpuruṣaḥ* and *Dviguś ca*.

NOTE :—Here it is possible for a doubt to arise. Does the *Vārttikakāra* refer to the *sūtra Dviguś ca* (2, 1, 23) or to the *sūtra Saṅkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ* (2, 1, 52)? *Kāiyaṭa* answers that he refers to the latter, since the former is unnecessary both to *ēka-saṁjñā-vādin* and to *paraṅkāryatva-vādin*.

अक्रियमाणे हि चकारेऽनवकाशा द्विगुसंज्ञा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञां बाधेत

For, if *cakāra* is not read, *dvigusaṁjñā* which is *anavakāśa* will set at naught *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः - यस्य पुनः परंकार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

But, on the other hand, both the *saṁjñās* can simultaneously exist according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin*, since there is no *niyama*.

कथम्? How?

पूर्वा तस्य द्विगुसंज्ञा परा तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा

According to him *dvigusaṁjñā* precedes *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā*.

कथम्? How?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च सङ्ख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः इति, एवं सर्वं द्विगुप्रकरणमनुक्रम्य तस्यान्ते श्रितादिभिस्तत्पुरुषः इति । तत्र आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च द्विगुसंज्ञा, परंकार्यत्वाच्च तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।

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He will read thus:—Having commenced *dviguprakaraṇa* by the *sūtra Taddhitārthōttarapadasamāhārē ca saṅkhyāpūrvō dviguḥ*, he will read the *sūtra Śritādibhis tatpuruṣaḥ* at its end. *Dvigusaṁjñā* will appear, in that case, by *ārambhasāmarthya* and *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā* by *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारस्तस्यापि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञापूर्विका द्विगुसंज्ञा

Oh! *dvigusaṁjñā* will be preceded by *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā* even according to *ēkasaṁjñādhikāravādin*.

कथम्? How?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञेतिवचनात् नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for either of the two to operate. There is no chance for simultaneous operation of both on account of *ēkasaṁjñātvapakṣa*.

गतिदिवःकर्महेतुमत्सु चग्रहणम्

Need to read *ca* in the *sūtras Gatiś ca* (1, 4, 60), *Divaḥ karma ca* (1, 4, 43) and *Tatprayōjakō hētuś ca* (1, 4, 55.)

गतिदिवःकर्महेतुमत्सु चग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Ca should be read in the *sūtras Gatiś ca, Divaḥ karma ca* and *Tatprayōjakō hētuś ca*.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे, गतिश्च इति चकारः कर्तव्यः

Cakāra should be read in the *sūtra Gatiś ca* which follows the *sūtra Upasargāḥ kriyāyōgē*.

अक्रियमाणे हि चकारे अनवकाशोपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञां बाधेत ।

If *cakāra* is not read, *upasargasaṁjñā* which is *anavakāśa* will set at naught *gatisaṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परङ्कार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

Simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* on account of the absence of *niyama* in *pravacana*. The simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* is settled, according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin*, on account of the absence of the *niyama*.

कथम्? How?

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पूर्वा तस्योपसर्गसंज्ञा, परा गतिसंज्ञा । तत्र आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च उपसर्गसंज्ञां, परंकार्यत्वाच्च गतिसंज्ञा भविष्यति

Upasargasaṁjñā, according to him, precedes *gati-saṁjñā*. *Upasargasaṁjñā* first appears on account of *ārambha-sāmarthya* and then *gati-saṁjñā* appears on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारः तस्याप्युपसर्गसंज्ञापूर्विका गतिसंज्ञा

Oh! *gatisaṁjñā* is preceded by *upasarga-saṁjñā* even according to *ēka-saṁjñādhikāra-pakṣin*.

कथम्? How?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvrtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत, एका संज्ञेति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for *paryāya*. Simultaneous existence is not possible on account of the mention of *ēkā saṁjñā*.

गतिसंज्ञाप्यनवकाशा सा वचनाद्भविष्यति

Gatisaṁjñā, too, is *anavakāśā* and hence it sets in on account of its mention.

सावकाशा गतिसंज्ञा *Gatisaṁjñā* is *sāvakāśā*.

कोऽवकाशः? Where does it operate?

ऊर्यादीन्यवकाशः

It operates with reference to *ūryādis* mentioned in the *sūtra* *Ūryādi-cvi-ḍācaś ca* (1, 4, 61).

प्रादीनां या गतिसंज्ञा सानवकाशा

The *gatisaṁjñā* with reference to *prādis* is *anavakāśā*.

साधकतमं करणं, दिवः कर्म च इति चकारः कर्तव्यः

Cakāra should be read in the *sūtra* *Sādhakatamaṁ karaṇam*.

अक्रियमाणे हि चकारेऽनवकाशा कर्मसंज्ञां बाधेत

If *cakāra* is not read, *karmasaṁjñā* which is *anavakāśa* will set at naught the *karaṇasaṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परङ्कार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

Both the *saṁjñās* can exist on account of the absence of *niyama* in *paravacana*. Simultaneous existence of both the

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ṣaṁjñās is settled in *paraṅkāryatvapakṣa* on account of the absence of *niyama*.

कथम् ? How ?

पूर्वा तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा, परा करणसंज्ञा

Karma-saṁjñā, according to him, precedes *karaṇa-saṁjñā*.

कथम् ? How ?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - दिवः साधकतमं कर्म, ततः करणम् - करणसंज्ञं च भवति साधकतमम् । दिवः इति निवृत्तम् । तत्र आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च कर्मसंज्ञा, परङ्कार्यत्वाच्च करणसंज्ञा भविष्यति

He will read the *sūtras* thus :—*Divaḥ sādhakatamam karma*, then, the *sūtra Karaṇam*, which means that *sādhakatamam* takes *karmasaṁjñā* too. Then the word *divaḥ* recedes. According to that reading there is *karmasaṁjñā* on account of *ārambha-sāmarthya* and *karaṇasaṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारः तस्यापि करणसंज्ञापूर्विका कर्मसंज्ञा ।

Oh, even according to *ēkasaṁjñādhikārin*, *karmasaṁjñā* is preceded by *karaṇasaṁjñā*.

कथम् ? How ?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञा इति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for *paryāya*. Simultaneous existence is not possible on account of the dictum *ēkā saṁjñā*.

(हेतुमत्) स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता, तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च इति चकारः कर्तव्यः

Cakāra should be read (as is found now) in the *sūtra Tatprayōjakō hētuś ca* which follows the *sūtra Svatantraḥ kartā* (1, 4, 54).

अक्रियमाणे हि चकारे, अनवकाशा हेतुसंज्ञा कर्तृसंज्ञां बाधेत

For, if *cakāra* is not read, *hētusaṁjñā*, being *anavakāśa*, may set at naught *kartṛsaṁjñā*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परङ्कार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः ।

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On the mention of *paravacana*, on the other hand, there is the simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* on account of the absence of *niyama*. The existence of both the *saṁjñās* is settled, according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin*, on account of the absence of *niyama*.

कथम् ? How ?

पूर्वा तस्य हेतुसंज्ञा, परा कर्तृसंज्ञा

Hētusaṁjñā, according to him, precedes *kartṛsaṁjñā*.

कथम् ? How ?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - स्वतन्त्रः प्रयोजको हेतुः इति । ततः कर्ता । कर्तृसंज्ञश्च भवति स्वतन्त्रः । प्रयोजक इति निवृत्तम् । तत्र आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च हेतुसंज्ञा परंकार्यत्वाच्च कर्तृसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।

He will read thus :—'*Svatantraḥ prayōjakō hētuḥ*'; then *Kartā* which means that it being *svatantra* takes *kartṛsaṁjñā*. The word *prayōjaka* recedes. Then *hētusaṁjñā* appears on account of *ārambhasāmarthya* and *kartṛsaṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारः, तस्यापि कर्तृसंज्ञापूर्विका हेतुसंज्ञा

Oh, *hētusaṁjñā* is preceded by *kartṛsaṁjñā* even according to *ēkasaṁjñādhikāravādin*.

कथम् ? How ?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञा इति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for either to operate. There cannot be simultaneous existence on account of the mention of *ēkā saṁjñā*.

गुरुलघुसंज्ञे नदीघिसंज्ञे

The *saṁjñās guru* and *laghu* may set at naught *nadī* and *ghi* respectively.

गुरुलघुसंज्ञे बाधेयाताम्, गार्गीबन्धुः वात्सीबन्धुः, वैत्रं विविनय्य

The *saṁjñās guru* and *laghu* may set at naught the *saṁjñās nadī* and *ghi* so that there will be difficulty in the *svara* of *gārgībandhuḥ* and *vātsībandhuḥ* and in the formation of *vāinram* and *vivinayya*.

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NOTE :-1. *Kāiyaṭa* says that this difficulty will arise only if we consider that the *saṁjñās ghi* and *nadī* relate to only letters; if, on the other hand, they relate to *tadanta*, it will not arise.

NOTE :-2. If there is *bādha*, the *sūtra Nadī bandhuni* (6, 2, 109) enjoining the *udāttatva* of *nadyanta* cannot operate; the *sūtra Dvandvē ghi* (2, 2, 32) enjoining the *pūrvanipāta* in *vinarāu* cannot operate to allow it to take *aṇ* by the *sūtra Igantācca laghupūrvāt* (5, 1, 131) to secure the form *vāinram* (*vinrōḥ bhāvaḥ*); *vivinayya* is formed thus:—*vinarāu ācaṣṭē iti ṇici, ṭilōpē ca kṛtē Lyapi laghupūrvāt* (6, 4, 56) *iti ṇēr ayādēśaḥ*. If *laghusaṁjñā* sets at naught *ghi-saṁjñā*, there will be no *pūrvanipāta* to *vi* in *vinarāu*.

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परंकार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

In the *paravacanapakṣa*, on the other hand, both the *saṁjñās* can exist on account of the absence of *niyama*. The simultaneous existence of both the *saṁjñās* is settled, according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin*, on account of the *anupapatti* of *niyama*.

कथन्? How?

पूर्वे तस्य नदीघिसंज्ञे ; परे गुरुलघुसंज्ञे, तत्रारम्भसामर्थ्याच्च नदीघिसंज्ञे, परंकार्यत्वाच्च गुरुलघुसंज्ञे भविष्यतः

According to him the *saṁjñās nadī* and *ghi* precede the *saṁjñās guru* and *laghu*. The *saṁjñās nadī* and *ghi* set in on account of *ārambhasāmarthya* and *guru* and *laghu* set in on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारस्तस्यापि नदीघिसंज्ञापूर्विके गुरुलघुसंज्ञे

Oh, even according to *ēkasaṁjñādhikāravādin*, the *saṁjñās guru* and *laghu* are preceded by *nadī* and *ghi*.

कथम्? How?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत ; एका संज्ञा इति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

There is chance for either of the two to operate; there is no chance for simultaneous existence on account of the dictum *ēkā saṁjñā*.

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परस्मैपदसंज्ञां पुरुषसंज्ञा

The *puruṣa-saṁjñā* will set at naught the *parasmāipada-saṁjñā*.

परस्मैपदसंज्ञां पुरुषसंज्ञा बाधेत

The *puruṣa-saṁjñā* (enjoined by the *sūtra Tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathama-madhyamōttamāḥ* 1, 4, 101) will set at naught the *parasmāipada-saṁjñā* (enjoined by the *sūtra Laḥ parasmāipadam* 1, 4, 99).

परवचने हि नियमानुपपत्तेरुभयसंज्ञाभावः । यस्य पुनः परंकार्यत्वं नियमानुपपत्तेस्तस्योभयोः संज्ञयोर्भावः सिद्धः

On the mention of *paravacana*, on the other hand, both the *saṁjñās* can exist on account of the absence of *niyama*. The simultaneous existence of the two *saṁjñās* is settled, according to *paraṅkāryatvavādin*, on account of the absence of *niyama*.

कथम्? How?

पूर्वा तस्य पुरुषसंज्ञा, परा परस्मैपदसंज्ञा

Puruṣasaṁjñā, according to him, precedes *parasmāipada-saṁjñā*.

कथम्? How?

एवं स वक्ष्यति - तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः इति, एवं सर्वपुरुषनियममनुक्रम्य तस्यान्ते लः परस्मैपदम् इति । तत्रारम्भसामर्थ्याच्च पुरुषसंज्ञा, परङ्कार्यत्वाच्च परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।

He will read the *sūtra* thus :–After reading all the *sūtras* relating to person starting with *Tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathama-madhyama-uttamāḥ*, the *sūtra Laḥ parasmāipadam* will be read at the end. *Puruṣa-saṁjñā* appears there on account of *ārambhasāmarthya* and *parasmāipada-saṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva*.

ननु च यस्याप्येकसंज्ञाधिकारस्तस्यापि परस्मैपदसंज्ञापूर्विका पुरुषसंज्ञा

Oh, even according to *ēka-saṁjñādhikāravādin*, *puruṣa-saṁjñā* is preceded by *parasmāipadasaṁjñā*.

कथम्? How?

अनुवृत्तिः क्रियते *Anuvṛtti* is resorted to.

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पर्यायः प्रसज्येत । एका संज्ञा इति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः
There is chance for either of the two to operate. There will be no simultaneous existance on account of the dictum *ēkā-saṁjñā.*

परस्मैपदसंज्ञाप्यनवकाशा वचनाद्भविष्यति
Parasmāipada-saṁjñā too appears there on account of its being *anavakāśa.*

सावकाशा परस्मैपदसंज्ञा *Parasmāipada-saṁjñā* is *sāvakāśā.*

कोऽवकाशः? Where is the *avakāśa*?

शतृक्वसू अवकाशः *Avakāśa* is where *śatṛ* and *kvasu* appear.

I—ii

परवचने सिति पदं भम्
On taking the reading *Prāk kaḍārāt paraṁ kāryam* there is chance for both the *padasaṁjñā* and *bhasaṁjñā* to operate simultaneously before the *pratyaya* which has *s* for its *it.*

परवचने सिति पदं भसंज्ञमपि प्राप्नोति - अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियः (R.V. 3, 29, 10), प्रजां विन्दाम ऋत्वियाम्[1] (R. V.) । आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च पदसंज्ञा, परंकार्यत्वाच्च भसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति
On taking the reading *paraṁkāryam,* there is chance for both the *padasaṁjñā* and *bhasaṁjñā* to operate simultaneouly, so that the *Vēdic* forms *ṛtviyaḥ* and *ṛtviyām* in the *Ṛgvēdic* sentences *Ayam tē yōnir ṛtviyaḥ* and *Prajām vindāma ṛtviyām* cannot be secured. There will be *padasaṁjñā* on account of *ārambhasāmarthya* and *bhasaṁjñā* on account of *paraṅkāryatva.*

NOTE :—The word *ṛtu* takes the *pratyaya ghas* by the *sūtra Chandasi ghas* (5, 1, 106) and *ghas* takes the *ādēśa iya* by the *sūtra Āyan...iyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghām pratyayādīnām* (7, 1, 2). *Ṛtu+iya* becomes *ṛtviya.* If *bhasaṁjñā* appears there, *u* will take *guṇa* by the *sūtra Ōr guṇaḥ* (6, 4, 146) and consequently the form *ṛtviya* cannot be secured.

गतिबुद्ध्यादीनां ण्यन्तानां कर्म कर्तृसंज्ञम्
The *karma* in *ṇyanta* of the roots *gam, budh* etc. may chance to take *kartṛsaṁjñā* too.

1. *Yajurvēdasaṁhitā* reads ऋत्वियात्प्रजां विन्दामहै (2, 5, 1, 5)

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गतिबुद्धयादीनां ण्यन्तानां कर्म कर्तृसंज्ञमपि प्राप्नोति । आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च कर्मसंज्ञा परंकार्यत्वाच्च कर्तृसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

The *karma* in *ṇyanta* of the roots *gam*, *budh* etc. may chance to take *kartṛsaṁjñā* too; *karma-saṁjñā* chances to appear through *ārambha-sāmarthya* and *kartṛ-saṁjñā* through *paraṅkāryatva.*

NOTE:—The *sūtra Gati-buddhi*... is 1, 4, 52 and the *sūtra Svatantraḥ kartā* is 1, 4, 54.

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न कर्मसंज्ञायां कर्तृसंज्ञा भवतीति, यदयं हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम् इत्यन्यतरस्याङ्ग्रहणं करोति ।

This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *kartṛsaṁjñā* does not appear where *karma-saṁjñā* exists, since he reads the word *anyatarasyām* in the *sūtra Hṛkrōr anyatarasyām* (1, 4, 53).

शेषवचनं च घिसंज्ञानिवृत्त्यर्थम्

Need to read the word *śēṣa* also to avoid *ghisaṁjñā*.

शेषवचनं च कर्तव्यं - शेषो घ्यसखि

The word *śēṣa* has to be read (as is done now in (1, 4, 7).

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

घिसंज्ञानिवृत्त्यर्थम् - नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञा मा भूदिति - शकट्यै पद्धत्यै बुद्ध्यै धेन्वै - इतरथा हि परङ्कार्यत्वाच्च घिसंज्ञा आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च ङिति ह्रस्वश्च इति नदीसंज्ञा ।

To prevent *ghisaṁjñā*, so that *ghisaṁjñā* may not appear where there is *nadīsaṁjñā* to secure the forms *śakaṭyāi*, *paddhatyāi*, *buddhyāi* and *dhēnvāi*. Or there will be *ghisaṁjñā* through *paraṅkāryatva* and *nadīsaṁjñā* by the *sūtra Ṅiti hrasvaś ca* through *ārambhasāmarthya*.

न वासम्भवात् No, it need not be read on account of *asambhava*.

न वा कर्तव्यम् । No, it need not be read.

नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञा कस्मान्न भवति?

How cannot *ghisaṁjñā* appear where *nadīsaṁjñā* is?

असम्भवात् On account of *asambhava*.

कोऽसावसम्भवः?

In what manner is this *asambhava* to be explained?

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ह्रस्वलक्षणा हि नदीसंज्ञा, घिसंज्ञायां च गुणः

Nadīsaṁjñā has for its basis the short letter and *guṇa* is to *ghi*.

ह्रस्वलक्षणा हि नदीसंज्ञा, घिसंज्ञायां च गुणेन भवितव्यम्

Nadīsaṁjñā is based on *hrasvatva* and *guṇa* takes place where there is *ghi-saṁjñā*.

तत्र वचनप्रामाण्यान्नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञाभावः[1]

Non-appearance of *ghi-saṁjñā* where there is *nadīsaṁjñā* through the authority of *vacana*.

तत्र वचनप्रामाण्यान्नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञा न भविष्यति

Ghi-saṁjñā will not appear where there is *nadīsaṁjñā* on the authority of the mention of the same by *Ācārya*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आश्रयाभावात् On account of the absence of *āśraya*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says here thus:—If *ghi-saṁjñā* has a chance to operate here, it will operate before *nadīsaṁjñā* operates, so that there will be *guṇa* by the *sūtra Ghēr ṅiti*. Since *ē* and *ō* are long, the *vidhāna* of *nadīsaṁjñā* to the stem ending in *i* and *u* in the *sūtra Ṅiti hrasvaś ca* (1, 4, 6) will be of no use.

आश्रयाभावान्नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञानिवृत्तिरिति चेद्यणादेशाभावः

If there is *ghisaṁjñā-nivṛtti* on account of *nadīsaṁjñā* having no *āśraya*, there is chance for the absence of *yaṇādēśa*.

आश्रयाभावान्नदीसंज्ञायां घिसंज्ञानिवृत्तिरिति चेद्, एवमुच्यते यणादेशोऽपि न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that *ghi-saṁjñā* is prevented from operating on account of *nadīsaṁjñā* not having *āśraya*, it may then be said that even *yaṇādēśa* will have no chance to set in.

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

नद्याश्रयत्वाद्यणादेशस्य ह्रस्वस्य नदीसंज्ञाभावः

The existence of *nadīsaṁñjā* to *hrasva* on account of *yaṇādēśa* depending upon *nadīsaṁjñā*.

1. This is *bhāṣya* in some editions.

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नद्याश्रयो यणादेशः; यदा नदीसंज्ञया घिसंज्ञा बाधिता तत उत्तरकालं यणादेशेन भवितव्यम् । नद्याश्रयत्वाद् यणादेशस्य ह्रस्वस्य नदीसंज्ञा भविष्यति ।
Yaṇādēśa depends upon *nadīsaṁjñā*; *yaṇādēśa* takes place after *ghi-saṁjñā* is set at naught by *nadīsaṁjñā*. *Hrasva* takes *nadīsaṁjñā* since *yaṇādēśa* depends upon *nadīsaṁjñā*.

बहुव्रीह्यर्थं तु For the sake of *bahuvrīhi*, then.

बहुव्रीहिप्रतिषेधार्थं तु शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं, शेषो बहुव्रीहिः इति
In that case, the word has to be read for the *pratiṣēdha* of *bhahuvrīhi* thus:—*Śēṣō bahuvrīhiḥ* (as is seen in 2, 2, 23).

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the *prayōjana*?

प्रयोजनमव्ययीभावोपमानाद्विगुकृल्लोपेषु
Prayōjana is seen in *ayayībhāva*, *upamāna*, *dvigu* and *kṛllōpa*.

अव्ययीभाव - उन्मत्तगङ्गम्, लोहितगङ्गम्; उपमान - शस्त्रीश्यामा, कुमुदश्येनी; द्विगु - पञ्चगवं, दशगवम्; कृल्लोपे - निष्कौशाम्बिः निर्वाराणसिः
Examples for *avyayībhāva* are *unmattagaṅgam* and *lōhitagaṅgam*, those for *upamāna* are *śastrīśyāmā* and *kumudaśyēnī*, those for *dvigu* are *pañcagavaṁ* and *daśagavam* and those for *kṛllōpa* are *niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* and *nirvārāṇasiḥ*.

NOTE:—If *unmattagaṅgam* takes *bahuvrīhitva* also, it will, according to *Kāiyaṭa*, be liable to take *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* by the *sūtra Bahuvrīhāu prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* (6, 2, 1) and the optional *kap-pratyaya* by the *sūtra Śēṣād vibhāṣā* (5, 4, 154). *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that there is no chance for *kap*, since it is prohibited by the *sūtra Na saṁjñāyām* (5, 4, 153). *Śastrīśyāmā* may take the optional *kap*, if it becomes a *bahuvrīhi*. *Kāiyaṭa* prefers the example *pañcapātram* to *pañcagavam*, but *Nāgēśa* does not agree with him. *Niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* will optionally take *kap*, if it is a *bahuvrīhi*.

तत्र शेषवचनाद्दोषः सङ्ख्यासमानाधिकरणनञ्समासेषु बहुव्रीहिप्रतिषेधः
The following defect in reading the word *śēṣē*:—Chance for *bahuvrīhipratiṣēdha* with reference to *saṅkhyāsamāsa*, *samānādhikaraṇasamāsa* and *nañsamāsa*.

तत्र शेषवचनाद्दोषो भवति
Difficulty arises on reading the word *śēṣē* there.

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सङ्ख्यासमानाधिकरणनञ्समासेषु बहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

Pratiṣēdha will chance to appear with reference to the *bahūvrīhi* based on *saṅkhyāsamāsa, samānādhikaraṇasamāsa* and *nañsamāsa*.

सङ्ख्या - द्वीरावतीको देशः, त्रीरावतीको देशः । समानाधिकरण - वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः । नञ्समासे - अब्राह्मणको देशः, अवृषलको देशः

Dvīrāvatīkaḥ and *trīrāvātīkaḥ* in *dvīrāvatīkō dēśaḥ* and *trīrāvātīkō dēśah* are the examples of the *bahuvrīhi* based on *saṅkhyāsamāsa*. *Vīrapuruṣakaḥ* in *vīrapuruṣakō grāmaḥ* is the example of the *bahuvrīhi* based on *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa*. *Abrāhmaṇakaḥ* and *avṛṣalakaḥ* in *abrāhmaṇakō dēśaḥ* and *avṛṣalakō dēśaḥ* are the examples of the *bahuvrīhi* based on *nañsamāsa*.

कृल्लोपे च शेषवचनात्प्रादिभिर्न बहुव्रीहिः

No *bahuvrīhi* with *prādi* in *kṛllōpa* on account of *śēṣavacana*.

कृल्लोपे च शेषवचनात् प्रादिभिर्बहुव्रीहिर्न प्राप्नोति - प्रपतितपर्णः प्रपर्णकः, प्रपतितपलाशः प्रपलाशक इति

On account of the mention of the word *śēṣē*, *bahuvrīhi* with *pra* etc. when there is the *lōpa* of *kṛt* is not possible, so that the forms *praparṇakaḥ* and *prapalāśakaḥ* cannot be secured from *prapatitavarṇaḥ* and *prapatitapalāśaḥ*.

अथैकसंज्ञाधिकारे कथं सिध्यति ?

How are the above difficulties solved in the *ēkasaṁjñādhikārapakṣa?*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Ēkasaṁjñāvādī tu śēṣagrahaṇam na karōti. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads :—*Padataḥ śēṣārtham na karōti, trikataḥ śēṣārtham tu kariṣyati.*

एकसंज्ञाधिकारे विप्रतिषेधाद् बहुव्रीहिः

Bahuvrīhi through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē*... in the *ēkasaṁjnādhikārapakṣa*.

एकसंज्ञाधिकारे विप्रतिषेधाद् बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति

Bahuvrīhi sets in through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē*...in the *ēkasaṁjñādhikārapakṣa*.

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एकसंज्ञाधिकारे विप्रतिषेधाद् बहुव्रीहिरिति चेत् क्तार्थे प्रतिषेधः

If it is said *Ēkasaṁjñādhikārē vipratiṣēdhāt bahuvrīhiḥ*, there is need for *pratiṣēdha* in *ktārtha*.

एकसंज्ञाधिकारे विप्रतिषेधाद् बहुव्रीहिरिति चेत् क्तार्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । निष्कौशाम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः

If it is said that, in *ēkasaṁjñādhikāra*, *bahuvrīhi* sets in through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē*, there is need to prohibit *bahuvrīhi* when *ktārtha* is *vācya*, so that the forms *niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* and *nirvārāṇasiḥ* may be secured.

तत्पुरुषोऽत्र बाधको भविष्यति *Tatpuruṣa*, here, sets it at naught.

तत्पुरुष इति चेदन्यत्र क्तार्थात्प्रतिषेधः

If *tatpuruṣa* is said to be *bādhaka*, need for *pratiṣēdha* in places other than *ktārtha*.

तत्पुरुष इति चेदन्यत्र क्तार्थात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, प्रपतितवर्णः प्रपर्णकः, प्रपातितपलाशः प्रपलाशक इति

If *tatpuruṣa* is taken to be *bādhaka*, there is need to mention *pratiṣēdha* in places other than *ktārtha*, for the sake of securing the forms *praparṇakaḥ* and *prapalāśakaḥ* from *prapatitavarṇaḥ* and *prapatitapalāśaḥ*.

सिद्धं तु प्रादीनां क्तार्थे तत्पुरुषवचनात्

But it is achieved by reading *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *prādis* in *ktārtha*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम्? How?

प्रादीनां क्तार्थे तत्पुरुषो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

There is the need to mention that *tatpuruṣa* sets in with reference to *prādis* in *ktārtha*.

NOTE:— 1. From the above discussion it is clear that the *sūtras* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* had two recensions, one set of *sūtras* suited to the reading *Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā* and the other suited to *Prāk kaḍārāt paraṅ kāryam*. Since it was found easier to answer the objections raised against the former than to answer those raised against the latter, it seems that the former

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recension was adopted by the later scholars and the latter died.

NOTE :—2. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads at the end :- *Unmattagaṅgam ityatra tu dōṣaḥ sthita ēva iti param kāryam iti pāṭhō dūṣitō bhagavatā, ṛtviyē dōṣācca iti bōdhyam.*

II

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What are the benefits accrued from this *sūtra* ?

प्रयोजनं ह्रस्वसंज्ञां दीर्घप्लुतौ

Benefit is that the *saṁjñās dīrgha* and *pluta* set at naught the *hrasvasaṁjñā*.

ह्रस्वसंज्ञां दीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञे बाधेते

The *saṁjñās dīrgha* and *pluta* set at naught the *saṁjñā hrasva*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Ukālōj hrasvasaṁjñā ityuktam. Ukāraś ca aṇtvād dvimātra-trimātrayōr grāhaka iti tayōr api hrasvasaṁjñā prāptā dīrghaplutasaṁjñābhyām bādhyatē.*

तिङ्सार्वधातुकं लिङ्लिटोरार्धधातुकम्

The *ārdhadhātukasaṁjñā* of *liṅ* and *liṭ* sets at naught the *sārvadhātukasaṁjñā* of *tiṅ*.

तिङ्सार्वधातुकसंज्ञां लिङ्लिटोरार्धधातुकसंज्ञा बाधते

The *ārdhadhātukasaṁjñā* of *liṅ* and *liṭ* sets at naught the *sārvadhātukasaṁjñā* of *tiṅ*.

अपत्यं वृद्धं युवा

Yuvasaṁjñā in *apatyādhikāra* sets at naught the *gōtra-saṁjñā*.

अपत्यं वृद्धं युवसंज्ञा बाधते

The *yuvasaṁjñā*, in *apatyādhikāra*, sets at naught the *gōtra-saṁjñā*.

घिं नदी *Nadīsaṁjñā* sets at naught *ghi*.

घिसंज्ञां नदीसंज्ञा बाधते *Nadīsaṁjñā* sets at naught *ghi-saṁjñā*.

लघु गुरु *Guru-saṁjñā* sets at naught *laghusaṁjñā*.

लघुसंज्ञां गुरुसंज्ञा बाधते

Guru-saṁjñā sets at naught *laghusaṁjñā*.

पदं भम् *Bha-saṁjñā* sets at naught *pada-saṁjñā*.

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पदसंज्ञां भसंज्ञा बाधते *Bha-saṁjñā* sets at naught *pada-saṁjñā*.

अपादानमुत्तराणि

The *kārakas* mentioned later set at naught *apādāna*.

अपादानसंज्ञामुत्तराणि कारकाणि बाधन्ते

The *kārakas* mentioned later set at naught *apādāna*.

NOTE :—The *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam* (1, 4, 24) immediately follows the *sūtra Kārakē* and all the other *kārakas* are dealt with later.

क्व ? Where ?

धनुषा विध्यति, कंसपात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते, गां दोग्धि, धनुर्विध्यति

In *dhanuṣā vidhyati*, *kaṁsapātryām bhuṅktē*, *gām dōgdhi* and *dhanur vidhyati*.

धनुषा विध्यति इति, अपाययुक्तत्वाच्च ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्यपादानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, साधकतमं करणम् इति करणसंज्ञा ; करणसंज्ञा परा, सा भवति

With reference to *dhanuṣā vidhyati*, there is chance for *dhanus* to take *apādānasaṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam* (1, 4, 24), since there is separation and to take *karaṇasaṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Sādhakatamaṁ karaṇam* (1. 4, 42). The latter being *parā* supersedes the former.

कंसपात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते इत्यत्र अपाययुक्तत्वाच्च ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्यपादानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ; आधारोऽधिकरणम् इति च अधिकरणसंज्ञा । सा परा भवति ।[1]

With reference to *kaṁsapātryām bhuṅktē*, there is chance for *kaṁsapātrī* to take *apādānasaṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam* (1, 4, 24), since there is separation and to take *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā* on the stength of the *sūtra Ādhārōsdhikaraṇam* (1, 4, 45). The latter supersedes the former, since it is *parā*.

गां दोग्धि इत्यत्र अपाययुक्तत्वाच्च ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्यपादानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इति कर्मसंज्ञा । परा सा भवति ।[2]

1. अधिकरणसंज्ञा परा सा भवति is another reading.
2. कर्मसंज्ञा परा सा भवति is another reading.

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With reference to *gām dōgdhi*, there is chance for *gō* to take *apādānasaṁjñā* on the stength of the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam* (1, 4, 24) since there is separation and to take *karma-saṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma* (1, 4, 49). The latter being *parā* supersedes the former.

धनुर्विध्यति इत्यत्र अपाययुक्तत्वाच्च अपादानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता इति कर्तृसंज्ञा । सा परा भवति [1]

With reference to *dhanur vidhyati*, there is chance for *dhanus* to take *apādānasaṁjñā*, since there is separation and to take *kartṛsaṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Svatantraḥ kartā* (1, 4, 54). The latter being *parā* supersedes the former.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that, with reference to the *saṁjñās* in this *adhikāra*, *yathōddēśapakṣa* alone holds good.

क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म सम्प्रदानम्

Karma supersedes *sampradāna* with reference to that which qualifies the roots *krudh* and *druh* preceded by prepositions.

क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्मसंज्ञा सम्प्रदानसंज्ञां बाधते

Karmasaṁjñā sets at naught *sampradānasaṁjñā* with reference to that which qualifies the roots *krudh* and *druh* preceded by prepositions.

करणं पराणि *Karaṇasaṁjñā* is superseded by those that follow.

करणसंज्ञां पराणि कारकाणि बाधन्ते

Those that follow *karaṇasaṁjñā* set it at naught.

क ? Where is it so ?

धनुर्विध्यति, असिच्छिनत्ति इति

In the words *dhanus* and *asi* in the sentences *dhanur vidhyati* and *asicchinatti*.

NOTE :—Since the *sūtra Svatantraḥ kartā* is *para* to *Sādhakatamaṁ karaṇam*, *dhanus* and *asi* are used as *kartā*.

अधिकरणं कर्म

Karmasaṁjñā sets at naught *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā*.

1. कर्तृसंज्ञा परा सा भवति is another reading.

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अधिकरणसंज्ञां कर्मसंज्ञा बाधते

Karmasaṁjñā sets at naught *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā*.

क ? Where is it so ?

गेहं प्रविशति इति

In the word *gēha* in the sentence *gēhaṁ praviśati*.

अधिकरणं कर्ता *Kartṛsaṁjñā* supersedes *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā*.

अधिकरणसंज्ञां कर्तृसंज्ञा बाधते

Kartṛsaṁjñā sets at naught *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā*.

क ? Where ?

स्थाली पचति In the word *sthālī* in the sentence *sthālī pacati*.

अध्युपसृष्टं कर्म

Karmasaṁjñā supersedes *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā* with reference to roots (*śī* etc.) preceded by the preposition *adhi*.

अध्युपसृष्टं कर्म अधिकरणसंज्ञां बाधते

The *karma* supersedes *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā* when it qualifies roots like *śī* preceded by the preposition *adhi*.

गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा

Karmapravacanīya-saṁjñā supersedes *gati-saṁjñā* and *upasarga-saṁjñā*.

गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा बाधते

Karmapravacanīya-saṁjñā sets at naught the *gati-saṁjñā* and the *upasarga-saṁjñā*.

परस्मैपदमात्मनेपदम् *Ātmanēpada* supersedes *parasmāipada*.

परस्मैपदसंज्ञामात्मनेपदसंज्ञा बाधते

Ātmanēpadasaṁjñā sets at naught *parasmāipadasaṁjñā*.

समाससंज्ञाश्च *Samāsasaṁjñās* too.

समाससंज्ञाश्च या याः परा अनवकाशाश्च तास्ताः पूर्वाः सावकाशाश्च बाधन्ते

Among *samāsasaṁjñās*, those that are *parā* and *anavakāśā* supersede those that are *pūrvā* and *sāvakāśā*.

अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम्

That which has meaning takes *prātipadika-saṁjñā*.

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अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति

That which has *artha* takes *prātipadikasaṁjñā*.

गुणवचनं च *Guṇavacana-saṁjñā* too.

गुणवचनसंज्ञं च भवत्यर्थवत्

Arthavat takes *guṇavacana-saṁjñā* also.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads here:—*Evam ca atra śāstrē guṇavacanaśabdēna jātisaṁjñā - avyaya - kṛdantataddhitānta - samasta - sarvanāma - saṅkhyā śabdātiriktaḥ śabdō gṛhyata iti bōdhyam.*

समासकृत्तद्धिताव्ययसर्वनामासर्वलिङ्गा जातिः

Mention of *samāsa, kṛt, taddhita, avyaya* and *sarvanāma* and *jāti* to be *asarvaliṅgā*.

समास - समाससंज्ञा च वक्तव्या । कृत् - कृत्संज्ञा च वक्तव्या । तद्धित - तद्धितसंज्ञा च वक्तव्या । अव्यय - अव्ययसंज्ञा च वक्तव्या । सर्वनाम - सर्वनामसंज्ञा च वक्तव्या । असर्वलिङ्गा जातिरिति, एतच्च वक्तव्यम्

Samāsasaṁjñā too should be read; *kṛtsaṁjñā* too should be read; *taddhitasaṁjñā* too should be read; *avyayasaṁjñā* too should be read; *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* too should be read; this too that *jāti* is *asarvaliṅgā* should be mentioned.

सङ्ख्या Reading of *saṅkhyā*.

सङ्ख्यासंज्ञा च वक्तव्या *Saṅkhyā-saṁjñā*, too, should be read.

डु च Reading of *ḍu* too.

डुसंज्ञा च वक्तव्या *Ḍu-saṁjñā* too should be read.

का पुनर्डुसंज्ञा? What is meant by *ḍusaṁjñā*?

षट्संज्ञा? *Ṣaṭsaṁjñā*.

एकद्रव्योपनिवेशिनी संज्ञा *Saṁjñā* is *ēka-dravya-upanivēśinī*.

एकद्रव्योपनिवेशिनी संज्ञा इत्येतच्च वक्तव्यम्

This too has to be mentioned—*Ēkadravyōpanivēśinī saṁjñā*.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते, यथान्यास एव भूयिष्ठाः संज्ञाः क्रियन्ते?

Since many of the *saṁjñās* are enjoined in their respective place, why is this—*saṁjñās* from *guṇavacana* to *ēkadravyōpanivēśinī*—said here?

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सन्ति चैवात्र काश्चिदपूर्वाः संज्ञाः । अपि च एतेनैवानुपूर्व्येण सन्निविष्टानां बाधनं यथा स्यात् । गुणवचनसंज्ञायाश्च एताभिः संज्ञाभिर्बाधनं यथा स्याद् इति ।
There are here certain new *saṁjñās*. Besides they are mentioned to show that those that are in this order are superseded, one by another. The *guṇavacanasaṁjñā* is set at naught by the *saṁjñās* that follow it.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (1, 4, 2)

Five topics are dealt with here:—(1) The connotation and the denotation of *vipratiṣēdha*, (2) The meaning of *para*, (3) The need or otherwise of reading *Parād antaraṅgam balīyaḥ*. (4) The defects and their answer in the *paribhāṣā Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē* (5) Need to enjoin *luk* to be stronger than *lōpa*, *yaṇ* etc.

I

विप्रतिषेध इति, कोऽयं शब्दः ? What is this word-*vipratiṣēdha* ?

विप्रतिपूर्वात् सिधेः कर्मव्यतिहारे घञ्

It is derived from the root *sidh* preceded by the prepositions *vi* and *prati* by the addition of the *pratyaya ghañ* in the sense of *bhāva* where *karmavyatihāra* or *parasparakaraṇam* is the of *viśēṣaṇa* of *sidh*.

इतरेतरप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः, अन्योन्यप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratiṣēdha means *itarētarapratiṣēdhaḥ* or *anyōnyapratiṣēdhaḥ*.

NOTE:—Both the words *itarētarapratiṣēdhaḥ* and *anyōnyapratiṣēdhaḥ* are taken to be synonyms. If not, *pratiṣēdha* in the former is taken to refer to *pākṣikapratiṣēdha* and that in the latter to *ātyantika-pratiṣēdha*.

कः पुनर्विप्रतिषेधः ?

What, then, is the denotation of *vipratiṣēdha* ?

द्वौ प्रसङ्गावन्यार्थावेकस्मिन्स विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratiṣēdha is that where two *vidhis* which can independently operate elsewhere chance to operate at the same place.

द्वौ प्रसङ्गौ यदा अन्यार्थौ भवत एकस्मिंश्च युगपत् प्राप्नुतः स विप्रतिषेधः

If two *vidhis* which can operate independently elsewhere have a chance to operate at the same place, it is *vipratiṣēdha*.

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क्व पुनरन्यार्थौ, क्व चैकस्मिन् युगपत् प्राप्नुतः ?

Where are the two *vidhis sāvakāśa* and where do they chance to operate simultaneously ?

वृक्षाभ्यां वृक्षेषु इत्यन्यार्थौ, वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्र युगपत् प्राप्नुतः

[The *sūtras Supi ca* (7, 3, 102) and *Bahuvacanē jhalyēt* (7, 3, 103)] are respectively *sāvakāśa* with reference to *vṛkṣābhyām* and *vṛkṣēṣu* and chance to operate simultaneously on *vṛkṣēbhyaḥ*.

किं च स्यात् ? What will happen then ?

एकस्मिन्युगपदसम्भवात् पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः

Chance for both to operate, the *pūrva* or the *para*, on account of both the *kāryas* being unable to take place simultaneously at the same *lakṣya*.

एकस्मिन् युगपदसम्भवात् पूर्वस्याश्च परस्याश्च प्राप्तेः उभयप्रसङ्गः

Since both the *pūrva* and the *para vidhi* are competent to operate and since both the *kāryas* cannot happen simultaneously at the same target, there is chance for both.

इदं विप्रतिषिद्धं, यदुच्यते - एकस्मिन् युगपदसम्भवात् पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्ग इति । कथं ह्येकस्मिंश्च नाम युगपदसम्भवः स्यात् पूर्वस्याश्च परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गश्च स्यात् ?

This is self contradictory that there is chance for both the *pūrva* and the *para* to operate, since both cannot operate simultaneously.

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यते एकस्मिन्युगपदसम्भवादिति, कार्ययोर्युगपदसम्भवः, शास्त्रयोरुभयप्रसङ्गः

The statement *Ekasmin yugapad asambhavād*....is not self contradictory ; for *yugapad asambhavaḥ* is with reference to the *kāryas* and *ubhayaprasaṅgaḥ* is with reference to the *sūtras*.

तृजादिभिस्तुल्यम् It is similar to *tṛjādis*.

तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोति । तद्यथा तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति

Each will have chance to operate in turn similar to *tṛjādis*. *Tṛjādis* operate in turn.

NOTE :—*Ṇvul* and *tṛc* are enjoined to *dhātu* in *kartrartha* in the *sūtra Ṇvultṛcāu* (3, 1, 133).

किं पुनः कारणं तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति ?

Why are *tṛjādis* suffixed in turn ?

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अनवयवप्रसङ्गात्प्रातिपदं विधेश्च

On account of the *śāstra* for all *vyaktis* and on account of the injunction to words individually.

अनवयवेन प्रसज्यन्ते, प्रतिपदं च विधीयन्ते

The *vidhis* chance to operate on all *vyaktis* and they are enjoined individually.

अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात्

Or there will *apravṛtti* for both the *śāstras*, on account of *tulyabalatva*.

अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा पुनरुभयोः शास्त्रयोः स्यात्

Or *apravṛtti* may chance for both.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

तुल्यबलत्वात् - तुल्यबले ह्युभे शास्त्रे

On account of *tulyabalatva*. For the two *śāstras* are of the same capacity.

तद्यथा - द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति । यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतः, नाना दिक्षु च कार्ये भवतः, तदा यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवति तत उभयोर्न करोति ।

This may be illustrated thus :—The servant who is common to two masters of the same rank does their work in turn. If both of them bid him to do their work at the same time and if the works are to be executed in different directions, the servant, if he wants to be just, does not do the works entrusted by both.

किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति ?

Why does he not do the works of both ?

[1] **यौगपद्यासम्भवात्**

On account of the impossibility of doing them at the same time.

नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

It is not possible to do them simultaneously.

[2] **तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वचनम्**

The need for this *paribhāṣā* is to enable one of the *vidhis* to operate.

1. & 2. These two are *bhāṣya* in the opinion of some.

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तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम्

This has to be read to enable one of them to operate.

तव्यदादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः

Non-accomplishment of *kārya* with reference to *tavyadādis.*

तव्यदादीनां तु कार्यस्याप्रसिद्धिः

Non-accomplishment of *kārya* with reference to *tavyadādis.*

न हि किञ्चित्तव्यदादिषु नियमकारि शास्त्रमारभ्यते येन तव्यदादयः स्युः

There is no *śāstra* restricting the application of any one among the *tavyadādis.*

NOTE :—*Tavyadādis* are found in the *sūtra Tavyat-tavya-anīyaraḥ* (3, 1, 96).

यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टः अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा उभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात् इति, तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु

The *hētu* mentioned by you—*apratipattir vā ubhayōḥ tulya-balatvād*—is seen in *tavyadādi.*

नैष दोषः । अनवकाशास्तव्यदादयः, उच्यन्ते च, ते वचनात् भविष्यन्ति

This defect does not arise. *Tavyadādis* are *anavakāśa* ; they are read ; they set in on account of their being enjoined in the *sūtra.*

यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टः तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोति इति, तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु

The *hētu* mentioned by you—*tṛjādibhis tulyam paryāyaḥ prā-pnōti*—is seen in *tavyadādis.*

एतावदिह सूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परम् इति । पठिष्यति हि आचार्यः सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद् बाधितमेव । पुनश्च पठिष्यति पुनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् इति ।

The *sūtra* here reads only so far—*Vipratiṣēdhē param.* *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read—*Sakṛt-gatāu vipratiṣēdhē yad bādhitam tad bādhitam ēva* (when two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after the first operation, is defeated for ever). He then extends it thus :—*Punaḥ prasaṅga-vijñānāt siddham.* (It is settled that it regains its life if there is a chance for it.)

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किं पुनरियता सूत्रेणोभयं लभ्यम्?

Is it possible for both to be secured by this *sūtra* alone?

लभ्यम् इत्याह 'It is possible to secure both,' says he.

कथम्? How?

इह भवता द्वौ हेतू व्यपदिष्टौ - तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोति इति च, अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वाद् इति च। तद्यदा तावदेष हेतुः तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोति इति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्यनेन किं क्रियते?

Here were two courses mentioned by you:—that they may come in turn as *tṛjādis* or that both of them cannot operate on account of *tulyabalatva*. If the first course - *Tṛjādibhis tulyam paryāyaḥ prāpnōti* - is adopted, what is done by this *sūtra*?

नियमः, विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवति इति - तदैतद् उपपन्नं भवति सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद् बाधितम् एव

Niyama. If there is *vipratiṣēdha*, only the *sūtra* which is *para* operates. In that case the *paribhāṣā* - *Sakṛd gatāu vipratiṣēdhē yad bādhitam tad bādhitam ēva* - suits it.

यदा त्वेष हेतुः अप्रतिपत्तिरुभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वाद् इति, तदा विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्यनेन किं क्रियते?

If, on the other hand, the other course - *Apratipattir ubhayōs tulyabalatvāt* - is adopted, what is done by this *sūtra*?

द्वारम्। विप्रतिषेधे परं तावद्भवति, तस्मिन् कृते यदि पूर्वमपि प्राप्नोति तदपि भवति, तदैतदुपपन्नं भवति - पुनः प्रसङ्गविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् इति

It serves as an *upāya.* If there is *vipratiṣēdha*, that which is *para* first operates. If, after its operation, that which is *pūrva* has a chance to operate, it too operates. In that case the *paribhāṣā* - *Punaḥ prasaṅga-vijñānāt siddham* - suits it.

II

विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युक्त्वा अङ्गाधिकारे पूर्वम्

Vipratiṣēdhē param being said here, *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam* should be enjoined in *aṅgādhikāra*.

विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युक्त्वा अङ्गाधिकारे पूर्वमिति वक्तव्यम्

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Vipratiṣēdhē param being said here, *vipratiṣēdhē pūrvam* should be enjoined with reference to the *sūtras* in *aṅgādhikāra* (i.e. the *sūtras* following *Aṅgasya* (6-4-1).

किं कृतं भवति ? What is achieved from it ?

पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठितव्या भवन्ति - गुणवृद्ध्यौत्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुम्पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम्, नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुड् इति ।
The *vārttikas Guṇa-vṛddhi-āutva-tṛivadbhāvēbhyō num pūrva-vipratiṣiddham* and *Num-aciratṛjvadbhāvēbhyō nuṭ* (under the *sūtra Tṛjvat krōṣṭuḥ* (7-1-95) relating to *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* need not be read.

कथं ये परविप्रतिषेधाः इत्त्वोत्त्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेन इति ?
How are the *paravipratiṣēdhas* (in *aṅgādhikāra* mentioned in the *vārttika Ittvōttvābhyām guṇavṛddhī bhavatō vipratiṣēdhēna* (under the *sūtra Udōṣṭhyapūrvasya* 7-1-102) to be had ?

सूत्रं च भिद्यते *Sūtra*, then, has to undergo modification.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

कथं ये पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः ?
How are we to arrive at results where *pūrva-vipratiṣēdha* applies ?

विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्येव सिद्धम्
They are achieved by this *sūtra Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam* itself.

कथम् ? How ?

परशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः । अस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते, तद्यथा परपुत्रः परभार्या अन्यपुत्रः अन्यभार्या इति गम्यते ; अस्ति [1] प्रधाने वर्तते, तद्यथा परमिदं ब्राह्मण्यमस्मिन् कुटुम्बे, प्रधानमिति गम्यते ; अस्ति इष्टवाची परशब्दः, तद्यथा, परं धाम गतः, इष्टं धाम गत इति गम्यते । तद्य इष्टवाची परशब्दः तस्येदं ग्रहणं विप्रतिषेधे परं - यदिष्टं - तद् भवति इति ।
This word *para* has many meanings :-it means *vyavasthā* (*limit*) as in the usage *pūrvaḥ* and *paraḥ* ; it means *another* as in the words *paraputraḥ* and *parabhāryā*, which respectively mean

1. प्राधान्यम् is another reading.

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another's son and *another's wife*; it means *pradhāna* (*prominent*) as in *param idam brāhmaṇyam asmin kuṭumbē*, where *param* means *pradhānam*; it means *iṣṭa* (*the desired one*), as in *param dhāma gataḥ*, which means *he has reached the desired goal*. The word *param* in this *sūtra Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam* is taken to mean the desired one.

NOTE:—It is clear that *Vārttikakāra* took the word *para* only in the sense *that which follows* and hence read the above mentioned *vārttikas*. But *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes it in the sense *the desired one* and hence has stated that the *vārttikas* relating to *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* and *paravipratiṣēdha* are unnecessary.

III

अन्तरङ्गं च *Antaraṅga* too.

अन्तरङ्गं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be mentioned that *antaraṅga* is stronger than *para*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

प्रयोजनं यणेकादेशत्त्वोत्त्वानि गुणवृद्धिद्विवचनाल्लोपस्वरेभ्यः

The benefit is that *yaṇ*, *ēkādēśa*, *ittva* and *uttva* operate in preference to *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, *dvirvacana*, *allōpa* and *svara*.

गुणाद्यणादेशः - स्योनः, स्योना । गुणश्च प्राप्नोति यणादेशश्च । परत्वाद् गुणः स्यात् । यणादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Yaṇādēśa wins over *guṇa* in the forms *syōnaḥ* and *syōnā*. Both *guṇa* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Guṇa* may operate on account of its being *para*; but *yaṇādēśa* operates on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—The root *siv* takes *auṇādikapratyaya na* after it. *Guṇa* is through the *sūtra Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86) and *yaṇ* is through *Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77). The other details may be found in the *sūtra Yēna vidhis tadantasya* (1, 1, 72) in Vol. III pp. 254-256.

वृद्धेर्यणादेशः - द्यौकामिः, स्यौकामिः । वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोति यणादेशश्च । परत्वाद्वृद्धिः स्यात् । यणादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

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Yaṇādēśa wins over *vṛddhi* in the forms *dyāukāmiḥ* and *syāukāmiḥ*. Both *vṛddhi* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Vṛddhi* may operate on account of its being *para*; but *yaṇādēśa* operates on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—*Dvi+kāma+i* becomes *di-u-kāma+i* (by the *sūtra Diva ut* (6, 1, 131). The *i* after *d* may take *vṛddhi* by *Taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ* (7, 2, 117) or *yaṇādēśa* by *Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77).

द्विर्वचनाद्यणादेशः दुद्यूषति, सुस्यूषति । द्विर्वचनं च प्राप्नोति यणादेशश्च । नित्यत्वाद् द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । यणादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः

Yaṇādēśa wins over *dvirvacana* in the forms *dudyūṣati* and *susyūṣati*. Both *dvirvacana* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Dvirvacana* may operate on account of its being *nitya*; but *yaṇādēśa* operates on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—The root *div* when followed by *san* takes *ūṭh* by the *sūtra Cchvōḥ śūḍ anunāsikē ca* (6, 4, 19) and *dvitva* by the *sūtra Sanyaṅōḥ* (6, 1, 9). *Yaṇādēśa by Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77) between *i* and *ū* precedes *dvirvacana* by *Sanyaṇōḥ*. It deserves to be noted that here *antaraṅgaśāstra* wins over *nityaśāstra* and not *paraśāstra*.

अल्लोपस्य च यणादेशस्य च नास्ति सम्प्रधारणा

There is no room for discussion between *allōpa* and *yaṇādēśa* with reference to *Parād antaraṅgam balīyaḥ*.

स्वराद्यणादेशः द्यौकामिः स्यौकामिः । स्वरश्च प्राप्नोति, यणादेशश्च । परत्वात् स्वरः स्याद्, यणादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Yaṇādēśa wins over *svara* in the forms *dyāu-kāmiḥ* and *syāukāmiḥ*. Both *svara* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Svara*, being *para*, may operate first; but *yaṇādēśa* being *antaraṅga* operates first.

NOTE:—If the *svaraśāstra Ñnityādir nityam* (6, 1, 197) operates first, the initial syllable has to be *udātta* and *āu* has to be *svarita* by the *sūtra*. *Udātta-svaritayōr yaṇaḥ svaritōsnudāttasya* 8, 2, 4); But *Ikō yaṇ aci* operates first, so, that *āu* is *udātta*.

गुणादेकादेशः - काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् । गुणश्च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । परत्वाद् गुणः स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

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Ekādēśa wing over *guṇa* in the form *kādravēyaḥ* in the sentence *kādravēyō mantram apaśyat.* Both *guṇa* and *ekādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Guṇa,* being *para,* may operate first; but *ēkādēśa,* being *antaraṅga* operates first.

NOTE:—*Guṇa* is by the *sūtra Ōr guṇaḥ* (6, 4, 146) and *ēkādēśa* by *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* (6, 1, 101) in *kadru-ū-ēya.*

वृद्धेरेकादेशः - वैक्षमाणिः सौत्थितिः । वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । परत्वाद् वृद्धिः स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Ekādēśa wins over *vṛddhi* in the forms *vāikṣamāṇiḥ* and *Sāutthitiḥ.* Both *vṛddhi* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Vṛddhi,* being *para* may operate first; but *ēkādēśa,* being *antaraṅga,* operates first.

NOTE:—*Vṛddhi* of *i* and *u* in *vi-īkṣamāṇa-i* and *su-utthita-i* is by the *sūtra Taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ* (7, 2, 117) and *ēkādēśa* by the *sūtra Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* (6, 1, 101.)

द्विर्वचनादेकादेशः - ज्ञाया ओदनो ज्ञौदनः; ज्ञौदनम् इच्छति ज्ञौदनीयति । ज्ञौदनीयतेः सन् - जुज्ञौदनीयिषति । द्विर्वचनं च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । नित्यत्वाद् द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Ekādēśa wins over *dvirvacana,* in the form *jujñāudanīyiṣati* which is the *sannanta* of *jñāudanīyati* which means *jñāudanam icchati* where *jñāudana* is split into *jñāyā ōdanaḥ.* Both *dvirvacana* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Dvirvacana,* being *nitya,* may operate first; but *ēkādēśa,* being *antaraṅga* first operates.

NOTE:—*Ekādēśa* is by the *sūtra Vṛddhir ēci* (6, 1, 88) and *dvirvacana* by the *sūtra Sanyanōḥ* (6, 1, 9.)

अल्लोपादेकादेशः - शुना, शुने । अल्लोपश्च, प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । परत्वादल्लोपः स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Ekādēśa wins over *allōpa* in the forms *śunā* and *śunē.* Both *allōpa* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Lōpa,* being *para,* may operate first; but *ēkādēśa,* being *antaraṅga* first operates.

NOTE:—*Śvan* takes *samprasāraṇa* by the *sūtra Śvayuvamaghōnām ataddhitē* (6, 4, 133) *a* of *an* takes *pūrvarūpa* by the *sūtra Samprasāraṇācca* (6, 1, 108) and *allōpa* by *Allōpōsnaḥ* (6, 4, 134).

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नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । नास्त्यत्र विशेषोऽल्लोपेन वा निवृत्तौ सत्यां पूर्वत्वेन वा

This may not serve as a *prayōjana*; for there is no difference in the finished form whether *a* disappears by the *sūtra Allōpōsnaḥ* or by *samprasāraṇāc ca*.

अयमस्ति विशेषोऽल्लोपेन निवृत्तौ सत्यामुदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्रसज्येत

There is this difference that, if it disappears by *allōpa*, there is chance for *udāttanivṛttisvara* by the *sūtra Anudāttasya ca yatrōdāttalōpaḥ* (6, 1, 161).

नात्रोदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः प्राप्नोति

There is no chance for *udāttanivṛttisvara* here.

किं कारणम्? Why?

न गोश्वन्साववर्णेति प्रतिषेधात्

By the *pratiṣēdha-sūtra Na gōśvan sāvavarṇa*....(6, 1, 182).

नैष उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधः

This *sūtra* does not prohibit *udātta-nivṛtti-svara*.

कस्य तर्हि? Which does it, then, prohibit?

तृतीयादिस्वरस्य

(It prohibits) *tṛtīyādisvara* (enjoined by the *sūtra Sāvēkācaḥ*:... (6, 1, 168).

यत्र तर्हि तृतीयादिस्वरो नास्ति - शुनः पश्य इति

What will be the case, where there is no *tṛtīyādisvara* as in *śunaḥ* in the sentence *śunaḥ paśya*?

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* here reads :–*Yatra tarhi ityādigranthō granthacchāyayā pratyākhyānavādina iti bhāti tattu na yuktam.*

एवं तर्हि न लाक्षणिकस्य प्रतिषेधं शिष्मः

If so, we do not prohibit that which is enjoined to *tṛtīyādiśabdaviśiṣṭa*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

येन केनचिल्लक्षणेन प्राप्तस्य विभक्तिस्वरस्य प्रतिषेधः

It is the *pratiṣēdha* enjoined by any *sūtra* which allows the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhakti* (from the *sūtra Sāvēkācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ.*)

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यत्र तर्हि विभक्तिर्नास्ति बहुशुनी इति

What will happen where there is no *vibhakti* as in *bahuśunī* ?

यदि पुनरयमुदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरस्यापि प्रतिषेधो विज्ञायेत ?

What will happen if it prohibits the *udāttanivṛttisvara* also ?

नैवं शक्यम् । इहापि प्रसज्येत कुमारी इति

No, it is not possible. It will chance to operate here also in *kumārī*. (So that *ṅīp* may not take *udātta*.)

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नोदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरः शुन्यवतरति इति, यदयं श्वन्शब्दं गौरादिषु पठति । अन्तोदात्तार्थं यत्नं करोति ।

If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that *udāttanivṛttisvara* does not happen with reference to *śvan*, since he reads it under *gāurādi* (in the fourth chapter of the *gaṇapāṭha*). He makes an attempt so that it may take *antōdātta*.

सिद्धं हि स्यान्ङीपैव

For the object will be achieved by *ṅīp* itself.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* state that *bahuśvā* is the form preferred by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and not *bahuśunī*.

स्वरादेकादेशः - सौत्थितिः, वैक्ष्माणिः । स्वरश्च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च ; परत्वात् स्वरः स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Ēkādēśa wins over *svara* in the forms *sāutthitiḥ* and *vāikṣamāṇiḥ*. Both *svara* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Svara*, being *para*, may operate first ; but *ēkādēśa*, being *antaraṅga*, takes the precedence.

NOTE :—If *u* of *su* in *su-utthita-i* takes *udātta* first, it may optionally become *svarita* by the *sūtra Svaritō vānudāttē padādāu* (8, 2, 6). If *ēkādēśa*, takes the precedence, it will always be *udātta*.

गुणस्य चेत्त्वौत्त्वयोश्च नास्ति सम्प्रधारणा

There is no room for discussion between *ittva* and *guṇa* and *uttva* and *guṇa*.

वृद्धेरित्त्वोत्त्वे - स्तैर्णिः, पौर्तिः । वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोति, इत्त्वोत्त्वे च । परत्वाद्वृद्धिः स्यात् । इत्त्वोत्त्वे भवतोऽन्तरङ्गतः ।

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Ittva and *uttva* win over *vṛddhi* in the forms *sthāirṇiḥ* and *pāurtiḥ*. Both *vṛddhi* and *ittva* or *uttva* have a chance to operate. *Vṛddhi*, being *para*, may operate first; but *ittva* or *uttva* takes the precedence on account of being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—*Ittva* is by the *sūtra* *Ṛta iddhātōḥ* (7, 1, 100) and *uttva* by the *sūtra Ud ōṣṭhyapūrvasya* (7, 1, 102) and *vṛddhi* is by the *sūtra Taddhitēṣvacām ādēḥ* (7, 2, 117).

द्विर्वचनादित्त्वोत्त्वे - आतेस्तीर्यते आपोपूर्यते । द्विर्वचनं च प्राप्नोति, इत्त्वोत्त्वे च । नित्यत्वाद् द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । इत्त्वोत्त्वे भवतोऽन्तरङ्गतः ।
Ittva and *uttva* win over *dvirvacana* in the forms *ātēstīryatē* and *āpōpūryatē*. Both *dvirvacana* and *ittva* or *uttva* have a chance to operate. *Dvirvacana* being *nitya*, may operate first; but *ittva* or *uttva* which are *antaraṅga* takes the precedence.

NOTE:—*Dvirvacana* is by the *sūtra Sanyaṅōḥ*.

अल्लोपस्य च इत्त्वोत्त्वयोश्च नास्ति सम्प्रधारणा
There is no room for discussion between *ittva* and *allōpa* and *uttva* and *allōpa*.

स्वरे नास्ति विशेषः
There is no difference with respect to *svara* (i. e.) whether *ittva-śāstra* and *uttvaśāstra* operate first or *svaraśāstra* operates first.

इण्ङिशीनामाद्गुणः सवर्णदीर्घत्वात्
Ād guṇaḥ wins over *savarṇadīrgha* with reference to *iṭ*, *ṅi* and *śi*.

इण्ङिशीनामाद्गुणः सवर्णदीर्घत्वात् प्रयोजनम् - अयज इन्द्रम्, अवप इन्द्रम्; वृक्ष इन्द्रं, प्लक्ष इन्द्रम्; य इन्द्रं, त इन्द्रम् । आद्गुणश्च प्राप्नोति सवर्णदीर्घत्वं च । परत्वात् सवर्णदीर्घत्वं स्यात् । आद्गुणो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः
This is the *prayōjana* that *Ād guṇaḥ* (6, 1, 87) wins over *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* (6, 1, 101) with reference to *iṭ* (1st pers. sing. termination, *ātmanēpada*), *ṅi* (7th case singular suffix) and *śi* (1st case plural suffix) in the following cases *a-yaj-a-i+indram*, *a-vap-a-i+indram*; *vṛkṣa-i+indram*, *plakṣa-i+indram*; *ya-i+indram*, *ta-i+indram*. Both *Ād guṇaḥ* and *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* have a chance to operate. *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*, being *para*, chances to operate first; but *Ād guṇaḥ*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

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न वा सवर्णदीर्घत्वस्यानवकाशत्वात्

No, on account of *savarṇadīrgha* being *anavakāśa*.

न वैतद् अन्तरङ्गेणापि सिध्यति

No, it cannot be made to operate even on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सवर्णदीर्घत्वस्यानवकाशत्वात् । अनवकाशं सवर्णदीर्घत्वमाद्गुणं बाधेत

On account of *anavakāśatva* of *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*. *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*, being *anavakāśa*, will set at naught *Ād guṇaḥ*.

न वा एतदन्तरङ्गेऽस्ति - अनवकाशं परमिति । इहापि स्योनः स्योनेति शक्यं वक्तुं - न वा परत्वाद्गुणस्य ।

Anavakāśatva and *paratva* have no capacity to supersede *antaraṅgatva*. Otherwise it may be said that *yaṇ* does not operate before *guṇa* in *syōnaḥ* and *syōnā*, since the latter is *para*.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* here reads:–*Sva-samāna-nimittakēna sva-samāna-sthānikēnāiva ca yēna nāprāptinyāyō, na tu vibhinna-sthāninimittakēnāpi.*

ऊङापोरेकादेश ईत्वलोपाभ्याम्

Ēkādēśa wins over *īttva* and *lōpa* with reference to *ūṅ* and *āp*.

ऊङापोरेकादेश ईत्वलोपाभ्यां भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् ।

Prayōjana is that *ēkādēśa* wins over *īttva* and *lōpa* with reference to *ūṅ* and *āp* through *antaraṅgatva*.

ईत्वादेकादेशः - खट्वीयति, मालीयति । ईत्त्वं च प्राप्नोत्येकादेशश्च । परत्वादीत्त्वं स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः

Ēkādēśa wins over *īttva* in the forms *khaṭvīyati*, and *mālīyati*. Both *īttva*, and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Īttva*, being *para*, may operate first; but *ēkādēśa* operates first on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—In *khaṭva-ā-y-ti*, *ā*, is changed to *ī* by the *sūtra Kyaci ca* (7, 4, 33). *Ēkādēśa* between *a* and *ā* is by *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* (6, 1, 101.)

लोपादेकादेशः - कामण्डलेयः, भाद्रवाहेयः । लोपश्च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । परत्वाल्लोपः स्यात् । एकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

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Ekādēśa wins over *lōpa* in *kāmaṇḍalēyaḥ* and *bhādrabāhēyaḥ*. Both *lōpa* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Lōpa*, being para, may operate first; but *ēkādēśa* takes precedence through *antaraṅgatva*.

NOTE:—In *bhadrabāhu-ū-ēya*, *ū* comes in by *Bāhvantāt saṁjñāyām* (4, 1, 67), *ēya* by *Strībhyō ḍhak* (4, 1, 120) and *ū* is dropped by *Ḍhē lōpōskadrvāḥ* (6, 4, 147).

अथ किमर्थम् ईत्त्वलोपाभ्याम् इत्युच्यते, न लोपेत्त्वाभ्याम् इत्येवोच्येत ?

Why is it that *īttvalōpābhyām* is read and not *lōpēttvābhyām* ?

सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो मा भूदिति

So that they may not be taken in the respective order.

आपोप्येकादेशो लोपे प्रयोजयति - चौडिः, बालाकिः

Ekādēśa wins over *lōpa* even with reference to *āp* in *cāudiḥ* and *bālākiḥ*.

आत्त्वनपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वान्ययवायावेकादेशतुग्विधिभ्यः

Āttva and *napuṁsaka-upasarjana-hrasvatva*, operate before *sūtras* enjoining *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv*, *ēkādēśā* and *tuk*.

आत्त्वनपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वानि अयवायावेकादेशतुग्विधिभ्यो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः वेञ् - वानीयम् ; शो - शानीयम् ; ग्लै - ग्लानीयम् ; म्लै - म्लानीयम् ; ग्लाच्छत्रम् , म्लाच्छत्रम् । आत्वं च प्राप्नोति, एते च विधयः । परत्वादेते विधयः स्युः । आत्त्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Āttva and *napuṁsaka—upasarjana--hrasvatva*, being *antaraṅga* operate before the *sūtras* enjoining *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv*, *ēkādēśa* and *tuk*, in the forms *vānīyam* (*vē* + *anīya*), *śānīyam* (from the root *śō*), *glānīyam* (from the root *glāi*), *mlānīyam* (from the root *mlāi*), *glācchatram* and *mlācchatram*. Both the *vidhi* enjoining *āttva* (*Ād ēca upadēśē, aśiti* (6-1-45) and the *vidhis* enjoining *ay*, *av* etc. have a chance to operate. The latter *vidhis* being *para* begin to operate first; but the *āttvavidhi* being *antaraṅga* operates first.

नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं च प्रयोजनम् - अतिर्य्यत्र, अतिन्वत्र, अतिरिच्छत्रम् , अतिनुच्छत्रम्, आराशस्त्रीदं, धानाशष्कुलीदं, निष्कौशाम्बीदं, निर्वाराणसीदम् , निष्कौशाम्बिच्छत्रं, निर्वाराणसिच्छत्रम् । नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं च प्राप्नोत्येते च विधयः । परत्वादेते च विधयः स्युः । नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

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Prayōjana is the *napuṁsaka-upasarjana-hrasvatva* in the forms *atiryyatra*, *atinvatra*, *atiricchatram*, *atinucchatram*, *ārāśastrīdam*, *dhānāśaṣkulīdam*, *niṣkāuśāmbīdam*, *nirvārāṇasīdam*, *niṣkāuśāmbicchatram* and *nirvārāṇasicchatram*. Both *napuṁsakōpasarjana-hrasvatva* and one of the other *vidhis* have a chance to operate. These *vidhis*, being *para*, begin to operate; but *napuṁsakōpasarjanatva*, being *antaraṅga* has the precedence.

NOTE:—If in *atirāi+atra*, *atināu+atra*, *āi* and *āu* first take the *ādēśas āy* and *āv*, there will be no chance for *hrasvatva*. If, in *ārāśastrī+idam*, *ēkādēśatva* between *ī* and *i* first takes place, and then *hrasvatva*, the form would be *ārāśastridam*, which is not current in the world.

तुग्यणेकादेशगुणवृद्ध्यौत्त्वदीर्घेत्त्वमुमेत्त्वरीविधिभ्यः

Tuk wins over the *vidhis* enjoining, *yaṇ*, *ēkādēśa*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, *āutva*, *dīrgha*, *ittva*, *mum*, *ēttva* and *rī*.

यणेकादेशगुणवृद्ध्यौत्त्वदीर्घत्त्वेत्त्वमुमेत्त्वरीविधिभ्यस्तुग् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः । यणादेशात् - अग्निचिदत्र, सोमसुदत्र ; एकादेशात् - अग्निचिदिदम्, सोमसुदुदकम् ; गुणात् - अग्निचिते, सोमसुते ; वृद्धेः - प्रऋच्छकः प्रार्च्छकः ; औत्त्वात् - अग्निचिति ; सोमसुति ; दीर्घत्वात् - जगद्भ्यां, जनगद्भ्यां ; ईत्त्वात् - जगत्यति, जनगत्यति ; मुमः - अग्निचिन्मन्यः, सोमसुन्मन्यः ; एत्त्वात् - जगद्भ्यः, जनगद्भ्यः ; रीविधेः - सुकृत्यति, पापकृत्यति । तुक् प्राप्नोति, एते विधयश्च । परत्वाद् एते विधयः स्युः । तुग् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Tuk, being *antaraṅga*, operates before the *vidhis* enjoining *yaṇ*, *ēkādēśa*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, *āutva*, *dīrgha*, *ittva*, *mum*, *ēttva* and *rī*, in the forms *agnicidatra* and *sōmasudatra* (over *yaṇādēśa*), *agnicididam* and *sōmasududakam* (over *ēkādēśa*), *agnicitē* and *sōmasutē* (over *guṇa*), *pra ṛcchakaḥ=prārcchakaḥ* (over *vṛddhi*), *agniciti* and *sōmasuti* (over *āutva*), *jagadbhyām* and *janagadbhyām* (over *dīrghatva*), *jagatyati* and *janagatyati* (over *īttva*), *agnicinmanyaḥ* and *sōmasunmanyaḥ* (over *mum*), *jagadbhyaḥ* and *janagadbhyaḥ* (over *ēttva*) and *sukṛtyati* and *pāpakṛtyati* (over *rīvidhi*). Both *tuk* and one of the other *vidhis* have a chance to operate. These other *vidhis*, being *para* chance to operate first; but *tugvidhi*, being *antaraṅga* wins over them.

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NOTE:–*Tuk* is by the *sūtra Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6, 1, 71). In *agni-ci-kvip-su+atra* where *kvip* is by the *sūtra Agnāu cēḥ* (3, 2, 91), *tuk* precedes *yaṇ* by the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77); *kvip* in *sōmasut* is by the *sūtra Sōmē suñaḥ* (3, 2, 90). *Ekādēśa* in *agnici+idam* is *Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ* (6, 1, 101). *Guṇa* in *agnici+ṅē* is by the *sūtra Ghēr ṅiti* (7, 3, 111). *Vṛddhi* in *pra ṛcchakaḥ* is by the *sūtra Upasargād ṛti dhātāu* (6, 1, 91). *Āutva* in *agnici-i* (seventh case singular suffix) is by the *sūtra Acca ghēḥ* (7, 3, 119). *M* of *jagam* before *kvip* is dropped by the *sūtra Gamaḥ kvāu* (6, 4, 40) and lengthening in *jaga+bhyām* is by the *sūtra Supi ca* (7, 3, 102). *Īt* in *jaga-y-ti* is by the *sūtra Kyaci ca* (7, 4, 33). *Mumāgama* is by the *sūtra Arurdviṣad-ajantasya mum* (6, 3, 67). *Ettva* is by the *sūtra Bahuvacanē jhalyēt* (7, 3, 103). *Rīṅvidhi* is *Rīṅ ṛtaḥ* (7, 4, 27).

अनङानङ्भ्यां च[1] *Tuk* wins over *anaṅ* and *ānaṅ*.

अनङानङ्भ्यां च इति वक्तव्यम् - अनङ्, सुकृत्, आनङ् सुकृद्दुष्कृतौ । तुक् प्राप्नोति, एते च विधयः । परत्वादेते विधयः स्युः । तुग्भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

It must be mentioned that *tuk* wins over *anaṅ* and *ānaṅ*, the former in the word *sukṛt* and the latter in *sukṛd-duṣkṛtāu*. *Tuk* and one of these *vidhis*, both have a chance to operate. These *vidhis*, being *para*, try to operate; but *tuk* wins over them on account of its being *antaraṅga*.

NOTE:—*Anaṅ* is by the *sūtra Ṛd-uśanas*... (7, 1, 94) and *ānaṅ* by *Aptṛn*...(6, 4, 11).

इयङादेशो गुणात् *Iyaṅādēśa* wins over *guṇa*.

इयङादेशो गुणाद्भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् - धियति, रियति । इयङादेशश्च प्राप्नोति गुणश्च । परत्वाद्गुणः स्यात् । इयङादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः

Prayōjana is that *iyaṅādēśa* takes precedence over *guṇa* on account of *antaraṅgatva*, in the forms *dhiyati* and *riyati*. Both *iyaṅādēśa* and *guṇa* have a chance to operate. *Guṇa* may operate first on account of *paratva*; but *iyaṅādēśa*, being *antaraṅga* operates first.

1. This *vārttika* is said to be absent in manuscripts. But the word *vaktavyam* in the *Bhāṣya* seems to suggest that this is the supplement by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

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NOTE:—*Iyaṅ ādēśa* is by the *sūtra Aci śnu-dhātu-bhruvām yvōr iyaṅ-uvaṅāu* (6, 4, 77) and *guṇa* is by the *sūtra Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7, 3, 86). *Dhi* and *ri* are the roots of 6th conjugation.

उवङादेशश्च *Uvaṅ-ādēśa* too.

उवङादेशश्चेति वक्तव्यम् - प्रादुद्रुवत्, प्रासुस्रुवत्

It must be said that *uvaṅādēśa* too wins over *guṇa*, in the forms *prādudruvat* and *prāsusruvat*.

NOTE:—It is doubtful whether *uvaṅādēśaś ca* was read by the *Vārttikakāra*, since *Mahābhāṣyakāra* reads *vaktavyam* and *Guruprasāda Śāstri* says that it is not found in manuscripts.

श्वेः सम्प्रसारणपूर्वत्वं यणादेशात्

Saṁprasāraṇapūrvatva wins over *yaṇādēśa* in *śvi*.

श्वेः सम्प्रसारणपूर्वत्वं यणादेशाद् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् - शुशुवतुः शुशुवुः । पूर्वत्वं च प्राप्नोति यणादेशश्च । परत्वाद् यणादेशः स्यात् । पूर्वत्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Prayōjana is that *samprasāraṇapūrvatva* wins over *yaṇādēśa* in the root *śvi*, so that the forms *śuśuvatuḥ* and *śuśuvuḥ* may be secured. Both *samprasāraṇapūrvatva* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Yaṇādēśa*, being *para*, may operate first; but *pūrvatva*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

NOTE.–*Samprasāraṇa* is by the *sūtra Vibhāṣā śvēḥ* (6, 1, 30) and *guṇa* by *Ēr anēkācōssaṁyōgapūrvasya* (6, 4, 82).

ह्व आकारलोपात्

Samprasāraṇapūrvatva wins over *ākāralōpa* in *hvē*.

ह्व आकारलोपात् पूर्वत्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् - जुहुवतुः जुहुवुः । पूर्वत्वं च प्राप्नोति, आकारलोपश्च । परत्वाद् आकारलोपः स्यात् । पूर्वत्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Prayōjana is that *samprasāraṇapūrvata* wins over *ākāralōpa* in the root *hvē*, so that the forms *juhuvatuḥ* and *juhuvuḥ* are secured. Both *samprasāraṇapūrvatva* and *ākāralōpa* have a chance to operate. *Ākāralōpa*, being *para*, may operate; but *samprasāraṇapūrvatva*, being *antaraṅga* operates first.

NOTE:—*Samprasāraṇa* is by the *sūtra Abhyastasya ca* (6, 1, 33) and *ākāra* and *ākāralōpa* are by the *sūtras Ād ēca upadēśēssiti* (6, 1, 45) and *Ātō lōpa iṭi ca* (6, 4, 64.)

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स्वरो लोपात् *Svara* wins over *lōpa*.

स्वरो लोपाद् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम्, - औपगवी, सौदामनी । स्वरश्च प्राप्नोति लोपश्च । परत्वाल्लोपः स्यात् । स्वरो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Prayōjana is that *svara*, being *antaraṅga*, takes precedence over *lōpa* in the forms *āupagavī* and *sāudāmanī*. Both *svara* and *lōpa* have a chance to operate. *Lōpa*, being *para*, may operate first; but *svara*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

NOTE:—In *upagu+aṇ+ṅīp*, if *a* is first dropped by *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 148), *ī* cannot take the *udāttanivṛttisvara*.

प्रत्ययविधिरेकादेशात् *Pratyayavidhi* wins over *ēkādēśa*.

प्रत्ययविधिरेकादेशाद् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् - अग्निरिन्द्रः, वायुरुदकम् । प्रत्ययविधिश्च प्राप्नोति, एकादेशश्च । परत्वादेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रत्ययविधिर्भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Prayōjana is that *pratyayavidhi*, being *antaraṅga*, wins over *ēkādēśa*, in the forms *agnir-indraḥ* and *vāyur-udakam*. Both *pratyayavidhi* and *ēkādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Ēkādēśa*, being *para*, may operate first; but *pratyayavidhi*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Yadyapi pratyayarahitāyāḥ prakṛtēḥ prayōgō nāsti, tathāpi vākyasya vibhajya anvākhyānē kriyamāṇē ayam vicāraḥ kriyatē.*

यणादेशाच्च (*Pratyayavidhi* wins over) *yaṇādēśu* too.

यणादेशाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् - अग्निरत्र वायुरत्र

It must be said that it wins over *yaṇādēśa* too, in the forms *agnir-atra* and *vāyur-atra*.

लादेशो वर्णविधेः *Lādēśa* wins over *varṇa-vidhi*.

लादेशो वर्णविधेर्भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् । पचत्वत्र, पठत्वत्र । लादेशश्च प्राप्नोति, यणादेशश्च । परत्वाद्यणादेशः स्यात् । लादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

Benefit is that *lādēśa*, being *antaraṅga*, wins over *varṇavidhi*, in the forms *pacatvatra* and *paṭhatvatra*. Both *lādēśa* and *yaṇādēśa* have a chance to operate. *Yaṇādēśa*, being *para*, may operate first; but *lādēśa*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

NOTE:—The *lādēśa* is with reference to *tu* in place of *ti* by the *sūtra Er uḥ* (3, 4, 85) and *yaṇādēśa* is by the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77).

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तत्पुरुषान्तोदात्तत्वं पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरात्

Tatpuruṣāntōdāttatva wins over *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva*.

तत्पुरुषान्तोदात्तत्वं पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वराद् भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः प्रयोजनम् - पूर्वशाला-प्रियः, अपरशालाप्रियः । तत्पुरुषान्तोदात्तत्वं च प्राप्नोति, पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च । परत्वात् पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं स्यात् । तत्पुरुषान्तोदात्तत्वं भवत्यन्तरङ्गतः ।

That *tatpuruṣāntōdāttatva*, being *antaraṅga*, wins over *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* is the *prayōjana* and it is seen in the forms *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* and *aparaśālāpriyaḥ*. Both *tatpuruṣa-antōdāttatva* and *pūrvapada-prakṛti-svaratva* have a chance to operate. *Pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva*, being *para*, may operate first, but *tatpuruṣa-antōdāttalva*, being *antaraṅga*, operates first.

NOTE :—1. *Antōdāttatva* is by the *sūtra Samāsasya* (6,1,223) and *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* is by the *sūtra Bahuvrīhāu prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* (6, 2, 1).

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Pūrvā śālā priyā asya iti tripadē bahuvrīhāu kṛtē, Taddhitārtha*...(2, 1, 51) *iti dvayōḥ padayōs tatpuruṣaḥ. Tatra tri-pada-āśraya-bahuvrīhi-nimittaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvarō bahiraṅgatvān na pravartatē. Tēna tatpuruṣasamāsāśrayam śālāśabdasya antōdāttatvam bhavati.*

एतान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि यदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

These are the benefits of the *paribhāṣā*, on account of which the *paribhāṣā* is to be read.

यदि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि इत्येषा परिभाषा क्रियते, ननु चेयमपि कर्तव्या असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इति

If this *paribhāṣā* is read on the basis that there are benefits, this too—*Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē*—has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

पचावेदं, पचामेदम् ; असिद्धत्वाद् बहिरङ्गलक्षणगुणस्य अन्तरङ्गलक्षणमैत्वं मा भूद् इति ।

So that in *pacāvēdam* and *pacāmēdam*, *āi* which is *antaraṅga* may not replace *ē*, the *bahiraṅgalakṣaṇa-guṇa*, on account of its being *asiddha*.

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NOTE :—In *pacāva+idam,* there is *guṇa* between *a* of the former word and *i* of the latter word, so that we get the form *pacāvēdam.* Since *ē* may be considered the final of the verb on account of *ēkādēśa,* there is chance for *ē* to be replaced by *āi* by the *sūtra Ēta āi* (3, 4, 93). The *sūtra Ēta āi* is *antaraṅga* and it should not be allowed to operate here. This is possible only if the *kārya* of the *bahiraṅga-sūtra Ād guṇaḥ* is considered *asiddha* or non-existent.

उभे तर्हि कर्तव्ये Both, then, have to be read.

नेत्याह "No, it need not be read," says he.

अनयैव सिद्धम् । इहापि स्योनः स्योना इति, असिद्धत्वाद् बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य गुणस्य अन्तरङ्गलक्षणो यणादेशो भविष्यति ।
It is decided by this itself :-in *syōnaḥ* and *syōnā, yaṇādēśā* which is *antaraṅga* operates setting aside *guṇa* which is *bahiraṅga,* on account of its being *asiddha.*

यदि असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इत्युच्यते, अक्षद्यूः हिरण्यद्यूः - असिद्धत्वाद् बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य ऊठः अन्तरङ्गलक्षणो यणादेशो न प्राप्नोति
If the *paribhāṣā Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē* is read, *yaṇādēśa* which is *antaraṅga* cannot operate in *akṣadyūḥ* and *hiraṇyadyūḥ* since *ūṭh* is *bahiraṅga* and hence *asiddha.*

NOTE :—*Ūṭh* in *akṣadyūḥ* is by the *sūtra Cchvōḥ śūḍ anunāsikē ca* (6, 4, 19).

नैष दोषः । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इत्युक्त्वा ततो वक्ष्यामि नाजानन्तर्ये बहिष्ट्वप्रक्लृप्तिः इति
This difficulty does not arise. The *paribhāṣa Nājānantaryē bahiṣṭvaprakḷptiḥ* will be read after *Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē.*

सा तर्हि एषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या
Then this *paribhāṣā-Antaraṅgam ca balīyaḥ*—has to be read.

न कर्तव्या ; No, it need not be read.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा इति, यदयं षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः इत्याह
The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests the existence of this *paribhāṣā,* since he reads the *sūtra Ṣatvatukōr asiddhaḥ* (6, 1, 86.)

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इयं तर्हि परिभाषा कर्तव्या असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे
This *paribhāṣā*–*Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē*
—is, then, to be read.

एषा च न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा यदयं वाह ऊठ् इत्यूठं शास्ति
This too need not be read. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests the existence of this *paribhāṣā*, since he enjoins *ūṭh* in the *sūtra Vāha ūṭh* (6, 4, 132.)

IV

तस्य दोषः पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरावेकादेशात्

Its defect :—Non-accomplishment of *pūrvapadōttara-vṛddhi* and the needed *svara* on account of *ēkādēśa*.

तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः - पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरौ एकादेशादन्तरङ्गतोऽभिनिर्वृत्तान्न प्राप्नुतः - पूर्वैषुकामशमः, अपरैषुकामशमः । गुडोदकं तिलोदकम्, उदकेऽकेवले इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्व्यपवर्गाभावान्न स्यात्
The defect in that *paribhāṣā* - *Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē* is this - *Pūrvōttarapada-vṛddhi* (by the *sūtra Prācām grāma*...7, 3, 14) and the needed *svara* cannot be secured on account of the operation of the *ēkādēśa* which is *antaraṅga* in the words *pūrvāiṣukāmaśamaḥ* and *aparāiṣukāmaśamaḥ* and the *antōdāttatva* of the *pūrvapada* in *guḍōdakam* and *tilōdakam* by the *sūtra Udakēskēvalē* (6, 2, 96) cannot be secured since the two words have coalesced together.

NOTE :—The *svara* in *pūrvāiṣukāmaśamaḥ* is *pūrvapadāntōdāttatva* by the *sūtra Uttarapadavṛddhāu sarvam ca* (6, 2, 105).

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत् कार्यं भवति नैकादेशः इति, यदयं नेन्द्रस्य परस्य इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।
This defect does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that *pūrvōttarapadakārya* is preferred to *ēkādēśa*, since he reads the *pratiṣēdha* in the *sūtra Nēndrasya parasya* (7, 3, 22).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become the *jñāpaka*?

इन्द्रे द्वावचौ ; तत्र एको यस्येति च इति लोपेनापह्रियते, अपर एकादेशेन, ततोऽनच्क इन्द्रः सम्पन्नः । तत्र कः प्रसङ्गो वृद्धेः? पश्यति त्वाचार्यः पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति, नैकादेशः इति, ततो नेन्द्रस्य परस्य इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

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There are two vowels in the word *Indra*; of them, one is elided by the *sūtra Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 148) and the other by *ēkādēśa* and the word *indra* has no vowel in it. Then where is the room for *vṛddhi*? *Ācārya* sees that *pūrvapadōttarapadakārya* operates in preference to *ēkādēśa* and hence reads the *pratiṣēdha Nēndrasya parasya*.

यणादेशादियुवौ

The defect:—*iy* and *uv* cannot be secured on account of *yaṇ-ādēśa*.

यणादेशाद् इयुवौ अन्तरङ्गतोऽभिनिर्वृत्तान्न प्राप्नुतः - वैयाकरणः सौवश्व इति । लक्षणं हि भवति य्वोरचि वृद्धिप्रसङ्गे इयुवौ भवतः इति

Iy and *uv* cannot be secured on account of the operation of *yaṇādēśa*, which is *antaraṅga*, in the words *vāiyākaraṇaḥ* and *sāuvaśvaḥ*. There is the *sūtra* too *Yvōr vṛddhiprasaṅgē iyuvāu bhavataḥ*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the above *sūtra* is not *Pāṇinīyan*.

नैष दोषः । अनवकाशौ इयुवौ, अचीत्युच्यते

This difficulty does not arise. *Iy* and *uv* are *anavakāśa* and the word *aci* is read.

किं पुनः कारणमचीत्युच्यते? Why is the word *aci* read?

इह मा भूताम् - ऐतिकायनः औपगव इति

So that it may not occur in *āitikāyana* and *āupagava*.

स्ताम् अत्र इयुवौ, लोपो व्योर्वलि इति लोपो भविष्यति

Let *iy* and *uv* come there and *y* and *v* are elided by the *sūtra Lōpō vyōr vali*.

यत्र तर्हि लोपो नास्ति - प्रैयमेधः प्रैयङ्गवः इति?

(What is to be done) where elision cannot take place as in *prāiyamēdhaḥ* and *prāiyaṅgavaḥ*?

उसि पररूपाच्च

Iy cannot take place before *us* on account of *pararūpa*.

उसि पररूपाच्चान्तरङ्गतोऽभिनिर्वृत्ताद् इयादेशो न प्राप्नोति - पचेयुः, यजेयुः

Iyādēśa, in *pacēyuḥ* and *yajēyuḥ* cannot be secured before *us* on account of the operation of *pararūpa* which is *antaraṅga*.

नैष दोषः । नैवं विज्ञायते, या इत्येतस्य इय् भवतीति

This difficulty does not arise. It is not stated that *yā* is replaced by *iy*.

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कथं तर्हि ? How then?

यासित्येतस्य इय् भवतीति - *Yās* is replaced by *iy*.

V

लुक् लोपयणयवायावेकादेशेभ्यः

Need to say that *luk* is stronger than *lōpa*, *yaṇ*, *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv* and *ēkādēśa*.

लोपयणयवायावेकादेशेभ्यो लुक् बलीयान् इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *luk* is stronger than *lōpa*, *yaṇ*, *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv* and *ēkādēśa*.

NOTE:—*Luk* is by the *sūtra Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ* (2, 4, 71).

लोपात् - गोमान् प्रियो यस्य गोमत्प्रियः; गोमानिव आचरति गोमत्यते; यवमत्यते

Luk should be stronger than *lōpa* so that *gōmatpriyaḥ* whose *vigrahavākya* is *gōmān priyō yasya* and *gōmatyatē* whose derivation is *gōmān iva ācarati* and *yavamatyatē* can be secured.

NOTE:—*Lōpa* is by the *sūtra Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ* (8, 2, 23)

यणादेशात् - ग्रामण्यः कुलं ग्रामणिकुलम्; सेनान्यः कुलं सेनानिकुलम्

Luk should be stronger than *yaṇādēśa* to secure the forms *grāmaṇikulam* and *sēnānikulam* whose *vigrahavākayas* are *grāmaṇyaḥ kulam* and *sēnānyaḥ kulam*.

अयवायावेकादेशेभ्यः - गवे हितं गोहितम्; रायः कुलम् रैकुलम्; नावः कुलं नौकुलम्; वृकाद् भयं वृकभयम्

Luk should be stronger than *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv* and *ēkādēśa* so that the forms *gōhitam*, *rāikulam*, *nāukulam* and *vṛkabhayam* whose *vigrahavākyas* are *gavē hitam*, *rāyaḥ kulam*, *nāvaḥ kulam* and *vṛkād bhayam* may be secured.

लुक् च प्राप्नोति, एते विधयश्च । परत्वादेते विधयः स्युः । लुग् बलीयान् इति वक्तव्यम्, लुक् यथा स्यात् ।

Both *luk* and one of these *vidhis* have a chance to operate; these *vidhis*, being *para*, may operate first. It must be said that *luk* is stronger than they so that *luk* may take precedence.

FIFTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, first *āhnika* ends.)

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Sixteenth Āhnika

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, second *āhnika*)

यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी (1, 4, 3)

There are *five* topics here:—(1) What is the need for the word *yū* in the *sūtra*? (2) Does it refer to *ī* and *ū* or *i* and *u*? (3) Does the word *stryākhyāu* conform to the rules of grammar? (4) What is the need for the word *ākhyā*? (5) Is there need for adding the adjunct *prathamaliṅgē*?

I

यू इति किमर्थम्? What is the need for the word *yū*?

खट्वा, माला

So that *nadīsaṁjñā* cannot reach *khaṭvā* and *mālā*.

किं च स्यात्? What will happen if they get it?

खट्वाबन्धुः मालाबन्धुः – नदी बन्धुनि इत्येष स्वरः प्रसज्येत । इह च बहुखट्वकः इति नद्यृतश्च इति नित्यः कप् प्रसज्येत ।

Pūrvapadāntōdāttatva will have a chance to take place in the words *khaṭvābandhuḥ* and *mālābandhuḥ* by the *sūtra Nadī bandhuni* (6, 2, 109), (though it is desired that they should take *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara-ādyudātta*.) Besides *kap* will have a chance to take place permanently in the word *bahukhaṭvaḥ* by the *sūtra Nadyṛtaś ca* (5, 4, 153.)

नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नापो नदीसंज्ञा भवति इति यदयं ङेराम्नद्याम्नीभ्यः इति पृथगाब्ग्रहणं करोति

This difficulty does not arise. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that *ābanta* does not get *nadīsaṁjñā*, since he reads *āp* separately in the *sūtra Ṅēr ām nadyāmnībhyaḥ* (7, 3, 116.)

इह तर्हि मात्रे मातुः इति आण्नद्याः इत्याट् प्रसज्येत

If so, *āṭ* will have a chance to appear in *mātrē* and *mātuḥ* by the *sūtra Āṇ nadyāḥ* (7, 3, 112).

II

किं पुनरिदं दीर्घयोर्ग्रहणमाहोस्विद्ध्रस्वयोः?

Does this (*yū*) refer to *ī* and *ū* or *i* and *u*?

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किं चातः? What does it matter if it refers to either?

यदि दीर्घयोर्ग्रहणं यू इति निर्देशो नोपपद्यते । दीर्घाद्धि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः प्रतिषिध्यते । उत्तरत्र च संज्ञिविशेषणं न प्रकल्पेत - यू ह्रस्वौ इति । यदि यू, न ह्रस्वौ; अथ ह्रस्वौ, न यू; यू ह्रस्वौ चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ।

If it refers to *ī* and *ū*, the form *yū* does not conform to the rules of grammar, since *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* is prohibited after the stems ending in *ū*. Besides it cannot be the *viśēṣaṇa* to *hrasvāu*. If they are *ī* and *ū*, they cannot be *hrasvāu*; if they are *hrasvāu*, they cannot be *ī* and *ū*. Mention of *yū* and *hrasvāu* contradicts each other.

अथ ह्रस्वयोः हे शकटे अत्रापि प्रसज्येत

If *yū* refers to *i* and *u*, *nadīsaṁjñā* will chance to go to *śakaṭi* and *śakaṭē* in the vocative singular will be replaced by *śakaṭi*.

नैष दोषः । अवश्यमत्र विभाषा नदीसंज्ञा एषितव्या, उभयं हीष्यते - हे शकटि, हे शकटे इति च

This difficulty cannot arise. Since both the forms *śakaṭi* and *śakaṭē* are found in the vocative singular, *vibhāṣā* has necessarily to be sought for.

इह तर्हि शकटिबन्धुः इति नदी बन्धुनि इत्येष स्वरः प्रसज्येत । इह च बहुशकटिः इति नद्यृतश्च इति कप् प्रसज्येत ।

Pūrvapadāntōdāttatva will, then, chance to set, in the word *śakaṭibandhuḥ* by the *sūtra Nadī bandhuni*. Besides the *pratyaya kap* will have a chance in the word *bahuśakaṭiḥ* by the *sūtra Nadyṛtaś ca*.

नैष दोषः । ङिति ह्रस्वश्च इत्ययं नियमार्थो भविष्यति - ङित्येव यू ह्रस्वौ नदीसंज्ञौ भवतो नान्यत्रेति ।

This difficulty cannot arise; for the *sūtra Ṅiti hrasvaś ca* is taken as a *niyama-sūtra*, so that it means the short *yū* takes *nadīsaṁjñā* only before the case-suffixes which are *ṅit* and nowhere else.

कैमर्थक्यान्नियमो भवति?

Is not the answer *niyamārtha* appropriate only if there is the question *kimarthaḥ?*

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विधेयं नास्तीति कृत्वा Taking that there is no *vidhēya* here.

इह चास्ति विधेयम् Oh! there is the *vidhēya* here.

किम्? What?

नित्या नदीसंज्ञा प्राप्ता, सा विभाषा विधेया

The *nadīsaṁjñā* which is permanently secured has to be made optional.

तत्र अपूर्वो विधिरस्तु नियमो वा अस्तु इति

Is it to be *apūrva-vidhi* or *niyamavidhi*?

अपूर्व एव विधिर्भविष्यति, न नियमः

It can be only *apūrvavidhi* and not *niyama*.

अथायं नित्यो योगः स्यात् प्रकल्पेत नियमः?

Is not *niyama* possible only if this *sūtra* is *apūrvavidhi*?

बाढं प्रकल्पेत Certainly, it is possible only then.

नित्यस्तर्हि भविष्यति It may, then, be taken as *nitya-vidhi*.

तत्कथम्? How is it possible?

योगविभागः करिष्यते । इदमस्ति - यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी, नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री, वामि; ततो, ङिति, ङिति चेयङुवङ्स्थानौ यू वा अस्त्री नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः । ततो, ह्रस्वौ, ह्रस्वौ च यू स्त्र्याख्यौ ङिति नदीसंज्ञौ भवतः । इयङुवङ्स्थानौ वा नेति निवृत्तम् ॥

The *sūtra Ṅiti hrasvaś ca* is split into two. Now, after reading the *sūtras Yū stryākhyāu nadī*, *Nēyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāvastrī* and *Vāmi*, *Ṅiti* alone is taken as a separate *sūtra*, meaning that *yū*, other than *strī*, which is capable of taking *iyaṅ* or *uvaṅ* optionally does not take *nadīsaṁjñā* before case-suffixes which are *ṅit*. Then *Hrasvāu* is read as a separate *sūtra* meaning that the short *yū* takes *nadīsaṁjñā* before *ṅit*; there is no *anuvṛtti* to *iyaṅuvaṅsthānāu*, *vā* and *na*.

यद्येवं शकटये, अत्र गुणो न प्राप्नोति

If so, there is no chance for *guṇa* and hence the form *śakaṭayē* cannot be secured (since *ghitva* is prohibited by *nadītva*.)

द्वितीयो योगविभागः करिष्यते । शेषग्रहणं न करिष्यते ।

The second *sūtra-split* is taken recourse to. The word *śēṣa* is not read (in the *sūtra Śēṣōghyasakhi*.)

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कथम्? How?

इदमस्ति, यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी, नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री, वामि । ततो ङिति, ङिति चेयङुवङ्स्थानौ यू वास्त्री नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः । ततः ह्रस्वौ, ह्रस्वौ च यू स्त्र्याख्यौ ङिति नदीसंज्ञौ भवतः ; इयङुवङ्स्थानौ, वा, न इति निवृत्तम् । ततो, घि, घिसंज्ञौ च भवतः स्त्र्याख्यौ यू ह्रस्वौ ङिति । ततो, असखि, सखिवर्जितौ च यू ह्रस्वौ घिसंज्ञौ भवतः ; स्त्र्याख्यौ, ङिति इति च निवृत्तम् ।

Now this is the situation:--First the *sūtras*—*Yū stryākhyāu nadī*, *Nēyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāvastrī* and *Vāmi* are read. Then *Ṅiti* which means *ṅiti ca iyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāu yū vāstrī nadīsaṁjñāu na bhavataḥ* is read. Then is read *Hrasvāu*, which means *hrasvāu ca yū stryākhyāu ṅiti nadīsaṁjñāu bhavataḥ*. There will be no *anuvṛtti* for *iyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthānāu*, *vā* and *na*. Then the *sūtra Ghi* is read, which means that the short *i* and *u* which are *nityastrīliṅga* take *ghi-saṁjñā*. Then the *sūtra Asakhi* is read, which means those that end in short *i* and *u* other than *sakhi* take *ghi-saṁjñā*. There will be no *anuvṛtti* for *stryākhyāu and ṅiti*.

यदि तर्हि शेषग्रहणं न क्रियते नार्थ एकेनापि योगविभागेन । अविशेषेण नदीसंज्ञा उत्सर्गः, तस्या ह्रस्वयोर्घिसंज्ञा बाधिका तस्यां नित्यायां प्राप्तायामियं ङिति विभाषा आरभ्यते

If the word *śēṣa* is not read in the *sūtra Śēṣōsghyasakhi*, no purpose is served even by one *yōgavibhāga*. *Nadīsaṁjñā* to *i* and *u* whether short or long is the general rule. Short *i* and *u* taking *ghisaṁjñā* is its exception; when there is a chance for *ghisaṁjñā* to be *nitya*, it is said that it is optional before *ṅit*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु दीर्घयोः Or let it refer to *ī* and *ū*.

ननु चोक्तं निर्देशो नोपपद्यते इति, दीर्घाद्धि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः प्रतिषिध्यते इति

Oh, the defects *Nirdēśō nōpapadyatē* and *Dīrghāddhi pūrvasavārṇadīrghaḥ pratiṣidhyatē*, we pointed out.

वा छन्दसि इत्येवं भविष्यति

The form may be sanctioned by *Vā chandasi*.

छन्दसि इत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasi* is read there; but this is not *chandas*.

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छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति इति

It may be said that *sūtras* may be treated like *chandas.*

यदप्युच्यते उत्तरत्र विशेषणं न प्रकल्पेत यू ह्रस्वाविति, यदि यू न ह्रस्वौ, अथ ह्रस्वौ न यू, ह्रस्वौ इति च विप्रतिषिद्धम् इति; नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम्, आहायं यू ह्रस्वौ इति, यदि यू न ह्रस्वौ, अथ ह्रस्वौ न यू, त एवं विज्ञास्यामः य्वोर्यौ ह्रस्वौ इति ।

With reference to the other defect—*uttaratra viśēṣaṇam na prakalpēta, yū hrasvāu iti, yadi yū na hrasvāu, atha hrasvāu na yū, yū hrasvāu iti ca vipratiṣiddham, yū* and *hrasvāu* do not contradict each other. He says "*yū hrasvāu.*" If *yū* cannot be *hrasvāu* and *hrasvāu* cannot be *yū,* it is interpreted thus:—*Yvōr yāu hrasvāu* (the *hrasvas* of *i* and *u*).

कौ च य्वोर्ह्रस्वौ? What are the *hrasvas* of *i* and *u*?

सवर्णौ The two like letters.

III

अथ स्त्र्याख्यौ इति कोऽयं शब्दः? What is this word *stryākhyāu*?

स्त्रियमाचक्षाते स्त्र्याख्यौ

Striyākhyāu is derived thus:—*Striyam ācakṣātē.*

यद्येवं स्त्र्याख्यायौ इति प्राप्नोति; अनुपसर्गे हि को विधीयते ।

If so, its form should be *stryākhyāyāu*; for *ka* is enjoined to *khyā* only when it is not preceded by a preposition.

न तर्हि इदानीमिदं भवति

यस्मिन्दश सहस्राणि पुत्रे जाते गवां ददौ ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रियाख्येभ्यः सोऽयमुञ्छेन जीवति ॥?

Cannot it be taken to be correct from the usage of *priyākhyēbhyaḥ* in the verse

Yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi putrē jātē gavām dadāu ।
Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ priyākhyēbhyaḥ sōsyam uñchēna jīvati ॥?

छन्दोवत्कवयः कुर्वन्ति । न ह्येषेष्टिः

Poets take licence like *Vēdas.* But there is no licence allowed here.

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एवं तर्हि कर्मसाधनो भविष्यति स्त्रियामाख्यायेते स्त्र्याख्यौ
If so, *stryākhyāu* is derived thus:—*striyām ākhyāyētē* (*śāstrēṇa*) (those two read by *śāstra* in feminine).

यदि कर्मसाधनः कृत्स्त्रिया धातुस्त्रियाश्च न सिध्यति, तन्त्र्यै, लक्ष्म्यै, श्रियै, भ्रुवै ।
If it is *karmasādhana,* it cannot apply to the feminine nouns whose stems end in *kṛtpratyaya* and *dhātu.*

एवं तर्हि बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति - स्त्रियां आख्या अनयोः स्त्र्याख्यौ
If so, *stryākhyāu* is taken to be *bahuvrīhi* thus:—*striyām ākhyā anayōḥ.*

एवमपि कृत्स्त्रिया धातुस्त्रियाश्च न सिध्यति - तन्त्र्यै, लक्ष्म्यै, श्रियै, भ्रुवै
Even then, it cannot hold to the feminine stems ending in *kṛt* and *dhātu.*

एवं तर्हि विज्भविष्यति If so, let the *pratyaya* be *vij.*

NOTE:—The *sūtra Ātō manin-kvanib-vanipaś ca* (3, 2, 74) enjoins *vij* to *ādantadhātus.*

अथ वा पुनरस्तु क एव, स्त्रियमाचक्षाते स्त्र्याख्यौ इति
Or let it be taken to be *ka-pratyaya* and the derivation of *stryākhyāu* to be *striyam ācakṣātē.*

ननु चोक्तं स्त्र्याख्यायौ इति प्राप्नोति, अनुपसर्गे हि को विधीयते इति
Oh, it was said that the form should be *stryākhyāyāu,* on account of *ka* being enjoined only when *khyā* is not preceded by any preposition!

मूलविभुजादिपाठात्को भविष्यति । एवं च कृत्वा सोऽप्यदोषो भवति, यदुक्तं

यस्मिन्दश सहस्राणि पुत्रे जाते गवां ददौ ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रियाख्येभ्यः सोऽयमुञ्छेन जीवति ॥ इति

Ka-pratyaya appears there on the strength of the *vārttika Kaprakaraṇē mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṅkhyānam* under 3, 2, 5. On that authority the word *priyākhyēbhyaḥ* in the verse '*Yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi...*' conforms to the rules of grammar.

IV

अथ आख्याग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *ākhyā* read?

नदीसंज्ञायामाख्याग्रहणं स्त्रीविषयार्थम्
Mention of the word *ākhyā* in the *lakṣaṇa* of *nadī* is concerned with words denoting *strī.*

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नदीसंज्ञायामाख्याग्रहणं क्रियते स्त्रीविषयार्थम् । स्त्रीविषयावेव यौ नित्यं तयोरेव नदीसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् ग्रामण्ये सेनान्ये स्त्रियै इति ।
The word *ākhyā* is read in *nadīsaṁjñā-vidhāyaka-sūtra* for the sake of words denoting *strī*, so that those alone which are permanently feminine may take *nadīsaṁjñā* and not words *grāmaṇī* and *sēnānī* though they may be adjectives to *strī*, as in *grāmaṇyē sēnānyē striyāi.*

V

प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणम् च Mention of the word *prathamaliṅga* too.

प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च कर्तव्यम् । प्रथमलिङ्गे यौ स्त्र्याख्यौ इति वक्तव्यम् ।
Mention should be made of *prathama-liṅga* too. The word *prathamaliṅgē* should be read in the *sūtra* (so that it may mean that *yū* which is *nityastrīliṅga* in *prathamaliṅga* takes *nadīsaṁjñā*).

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit?

प्रयोजनं क्विब्लुप्समासाः
Benefit is to get the *nadīsaṁjñā* where there is *kvip*, *lup* or *samāsa.*

क्विप् - कुमार्यै ब्राह्मणाय
So that *nadīsaṁjñā* may be secured to *kumārī* in *kumāryāi brāmaṇāya* (to the brahmin who wishes to have a *kumārī* or behaves like a *kumārī.*)

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Kumārīm icchatyātmanaḥ-kumārīyati. Tataḥ kartari kvip. Atha vā kumārī vā ācarati ācārē kvipam vidhāya kartari kvib vidhēyaḥ.*

लुप् - खरकुट्यै ब्राह्मणाय
So that *nadīsaṁjñā* may be secured to *kharakuṭī* in *kharakuṭyāi brāhmaṇāya* (to the brahman who is like a stable of asses or a barber's shop),

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Kharakuṭīva iti ivārthē saṁjñāyām* (5, 3, 97) *iti kanō* '*Lummanuṣyē* (5, 3, 98) *iti lup.*

• समास - अतितन्त्र्यै ब्राह्मणाय, अतिलक्ष्म्यै ब्राह्मणाय
So that *nadīsaṁjñā* may be secured to *atitantrī* and *atilakṣmī* in *atitantryāi brāhmaṇāya* (to the brahman who has excelled

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stringed instrument) and in *ātilakṣmyāi brāhmaṇāya* (to the brahmin who has excelled *Lakṣmī*.)

NOTE :—*Tantrīm atikrāntaḥ* compound into *atitantrī*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, must be read.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be read.

अवयवस्त्रीविषयत्वात् सिद्धम्

It is accomplished on account of the *avayava* being *strīviṣaya*.

अवयवोऽत्र स्त्रीविषयः । तदाश्रया नदीसंज्ञा भविष्यति

The *avayava*, here, is *strīviṣaya*. *Nadīsaṁjñā*, based upon it, is secured.

अवयवस्त्रीविषयत्वात्सिद्धमिति चेद् इयङुवङ्स्थानप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गे यण्स्थानप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गोऽवयवस्येयङुवङ्स्थानत्वात्

If it is said that it is accomplished through *avayavastrīviṣaya*, there is chance for *yaṇ-sthāna-pratiṣēdha* where there is chance for *iyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthāna-pratiṣēdha* on account of *avayava* being *iyaṅ-uvaṅ-sthāna*.

अवयवस्त्रीविषयत्वात् सिद्धमिति चेद् इयङुवङ्स्थानप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गे यण्स्थानयोरपि य्वोः प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत - आध्यै [1] ब्राह्मण्यै

If it is said that the object is achieved since its *avayava* is *strīviṣaya*, there is chance for *pratiṣēdha* of *ī* and *ū* which are *yaṇ-sthāna* where there is chance for the *pratiṣēdha* of *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*, so that the form *ādhyāi* in *ādhyāi brāhmaṇyāi* cannot be secured.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अवयवस्य इयङ्स्थानत्वात् - अवयवः अत्र इयङ्स्थानः

On account of the *avayava* being *iyaṅsthāna*. *Avayava*, here, is *iyaṅsthāna*.

सिद्धं त्वङ्गरूपग्रहणाद्यस्याङ्गस्येयुवौ तत्प्रतिषेधात्

It is achieved since *aṅga* is taken into account here and since there is *pratiṣēdha* to the *iy* and *uv* which happen to the *aṅga*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished.

1. Śri Guruprasādaśāstri's edition reads *ādhyē*, *pradhyē* in place of *ādhyāi*.

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कथम् ? How?

अङ्गरूपं गृह्यते । यस्याङ्गस्य इयुवौ भवतः, तस्येदं ग्रहणं, न चैतस्याङ्गस्य इयुवौ भवतः

Aṅga is taken into account here. It is only that *aṅga* to which *iy* and *uv* are possible to appear is taken here and this *aṅga* is not capable of taking *iy* or *uv*.

ह्रस्वेयुवस्थानप्रवृत्तौ च स्त्रीवचने

I and *u* which are capable of taking the *ādēśas iy* and *uv* take *nadīsaṁjñā* only in the feminine gender when they are used as adjuncts to other words.

ह्रस्वौ च इयुवस्थानौ च प्रवृत्तौ च प्राक् प्रवृत्तावेव स्त्रीवचनावेव नदीसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् - शकट्यै अतिशकट्यै ब्राह्मण्यै

It must be said that short *i* and *u* which are capable of taking the *ādēśas iy* and *uv* and which are *arthāntarasaṅkaramita* take *nadīsaṁjñā* only when they denote feminine gender in the same way as before *arthāntarasaṅkrama*, as in *śakaṭyāi* of *atiśakaṭyāi brāhmaṇyāi*.

क मा भूत्? Where should it not get the *nadīsaṁjñā*?

शकटये, अतिशकटये ब्राह्मणाय

In *śakaṭayē* of *atiśakaṭayē brāhmaṇāya*.

धेन्वै, अतिधेन्वै ब्राह्मण्यै

It should get it in *dhēnvāi* of *atidhēnvāi brāhmaṇyāi*.

क मा भूत्? Where should it not be?

धेनवे अतिधेनवे ब्राह्मणाय In *dhēnavē* of *atidhēnavē brāhmaṇāya*.

श्रियै, अतिश्रियै ब्राह्मण्यै

It should get it in *śtriyāi* of *atiśtriyāi brāhmaṇyāi*.

क मा भूत्? Where should it not be?

श्रिये अतिश्रिये ब्राह्मणाय In *śriyē* of *atiśtriyē brāhmaṇāya*.

भ्रुवै अतिभ्रुवै ब्राह्मण्यै

It should get it in *bhruvāi* of *atibhruvāi brāhmaṇyāi*.

क मा भूत्? Where should it not be?

भ्रुवे, अतिभ्रुवे ब्राह्मणाय In *bhruvē* of *atibhruvē brāhmaṇāya*.

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अपर आह Another says:—

ह्रस्वेयुङ्स्थानप्रवृत्तौ स्त्रीवचने

Short *i* and *u* which are capable of taking *iy* and *uv* take *nadīsaṁjñā* only if they denote feminine gender when they are *arthāntarasaṅkramita*.

ह्रस्वौ चेयुङ्स्थानौ च प्रवृत्तावपि स्त्रीवचनावेव नदीसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that the short *i* and *u* which are capable of taking the *ādēśas iy* and *uv* and which are *arthāntarasaṅkramita* take *nadīsaṁjñā* only when they denote feminine.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

शकट्यै अतिशकट्यै ब्राह्मण्यै। क्व मा भूत्? शकटये अतिशकटये ब्राह्मणाय। धेन्वै अतिधेन्वै ब्राह्मण्यै। क्व मा भूत्? धेनवे अतिधेनवे ब्राह्मणाय। श्रियै अतिश्रियै ब्राह्मण्यै। क्व मा भूत्? श्रिये अतिश्रिये ब्राह्मणाय। भ्रुवै अतिभ्रुवै ब्राह्मण्यै। क्व मा भूत्? भ्रुवे अतिभ्रुवे ब्राह्मणाय

In *śakaṭyāi* of *atiśakaṭyāi brāhmaṇyāi* etc. See above for the translation of the rest.

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? What for is this said?

प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं चोदितं, तद्द्वेष्यं विजानीयात् सर्वमेतद् विकल्पते इति, तदाचार्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा अन्वाचष्टे ह्रस्वौ चेयुवस्थानौ च प्रवृत्तौ च प्राक् च प्रवृत्तेः स्त्रीवचनावेव इति

Prathamaliṅga-grahaṇam was first read. Fearing that, on that authority, *vikalpa* may happen whether *i* and *u* are short or long and consequently harm will set in, *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*), being our benefactor has read after it the *vārttika Hrasvāu cēyuvsthānāu ca pravṛttāu ca prāk ca pravṛttēḥ strīvacanāvēva*.

षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा (1, 4, 9)

योगविभागः Need for *sūtra-split*.

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः The *sūtra* should be split into two.

षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि – षष्ठीयुक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि घिसंज्ञो भवति।

One is *Ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ chandasi*, which means that the word *pati* qualified by a word in the sixth case takes *ghisaṁjñā* in *Vēdas*.

ततो वा - वा छन्दसि सर्वे विधयो भवन्ति। सुपां व्यत्ययः, तिङां व्यत्ययः, वर्णव्यत्ययः, लिङ्गव्यत्ययः, कालव्यत्ययः, पुरुषव्यत्ययः, आत्मनेपदव्यत्ययः, परस्मैपदव्यत्ययः

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The other is *Vā*, which means that all *sūtras* are only optional in *Vēdas*:—the use of one case-suffix for another, one verbal termination for another, one letter for another, one gender for another, one tense for another, one person for another, *ātmanēpada* for *parasmāipada* and *vice versa* is allowed.

सुपां व्यत्ययः - युक्ता मातासीद्धुरि दक्षिणायाः - दक्षिणायाम् इति प्राप्ते

One case-suffix is found in place of another in *yuktā mātāsīddhuri dakṣiṇāyāḥ* (R. V. I, 165, 9). Here *dakṣiṇāyāḥ* is found in place of *dakṣiṇāyām*.

तिङां व्यत्ययः - चषालं ये अश्वयूपाय तक्षति (तै. सं. 4, 6, 8, 6) - तक्षन्तीति प्राप्ते

One verbal termination is found in place of another in *caṣālam yē aśvayūpāya takṣati*—Here *takṣati* is found in place of *takṣanti*.

वर्णव्यत्ययः - त्रिष्टुभौजः शुभितमुग्रवीरम् (तै. सं 4, 4, 12) - सुहितमिति प्राप्ते

One letter is found in place of another in *Triṣṭubāujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram* – Here *ś* and *bh* are found in the word *śubhita* in place of *s* and *h* of *suhitam*.

लिङ्गव्यत्ययः - मधोर्गृह्णाति, मधोस्तृप्ता इवासते - मधुन इति प्राप्ते

One gender is found in place of another in *Madhōr gṛhṇāti, madhōs atṛptā ivāsatē* – Here *madhōs* is used as masculine in place of the neuter *madhunaḥ*.

NOTE:—*Madhōr ghṛtasya* is found in Tāi. S. 3, 2, 8.

कालव्यत्ययः - श्वोऽग्नीनाधास्यमानेन, श्वः सोमेन यक्ष्यमाणेन - (तै. ब्रा. 1, 1, 9) श्वः आधाता, श्वो यष्टा इति प्राप्ते

One tense is used for another in *Śvō agnīn ādhāsyamānēna* and *śvaḥ sōmēna yakṣyamāṇēna* - Here *ādhāsyamāna* and *yakṣyamāṇa* are used in place of *ādhātā* and *yaṣṭā*.

पुरुषव्यत्ययः - अधा स वीरैर्दशभिर्वियूयाः (R. V. 7, 104, 15) - वियूयाद् इति प्राप्ते

The use of one person is found for another in *Adhā sa vīrāir daśabhir viyūyāḥ*. Here *viyūyāḥ* is found in place of *viyūyāt*.

आत्मनेपदव्यत्ययः - ब्रह्मचारिणमिच्छते - इच्छतीति प्राप्ते

The use of *ātmanēpada* for *parasmāipada* is found in – *Brahmacāriṇam icchatē* - Here *icchatē* is used for *icchati*.

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NOTE :—*Icchata iva hyēṣaḥ* Tāi. Br. 6, 3, 6.

परस्मैपदव्यत्ययः - प्रतीपमन्य ऊर्मिर्युध्यति, अन्वीपमन्य ऊर्मिर्युध्यति - युध्यते इति प्राप्ते

The use of *parasmāipada* for *ātmanēpada* is found in *Pratīpam anya ūrmir yudhyati, Anvīpam anya ūrmir yudhyati* - Here *yudhyati* is used for *yudhyatē*.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* says here that the above *yōgavibhāga* enables one to dispense with *bahulam chandasi* read many times in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

NOTE :—2. The above quotations, viewed from a historical standpoint, reveal that the *Vedic* Sanskrit was in a more fluid condition than classical Sanskrit.

यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् (1, 4, 13)

The *prayōjanas* of the words *yasmāt, pratyaya, vidhi, tadādi* and *pratyayē* and the need or otherwise of the *paribhāṣās* *Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa pratyayō vihitas tadādēs tadantasya ca grahaṇam* and *Kṛdgrahaṇē gatikārakapūrvasyāpi* are the *seven* topics dealt with here.

I

अथ यस्माद्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *yasmāt*?

यस्मादिति व्यपदेशाय

The word *yasmāt* is used for the determination (of the *saṁjñin.*)

II

अथ प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *pratyaya?*

यस्माद्विधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् इतीयति उच्यमाने स्त्री इयती स्त्रीयती इत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत । प्रत्ययग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read *yasmād vidhis tadādi pratyayē aṅgam* without the word *pratyaya, aṅgasaṁjñā* may chance to *strī* in *strī iyati* which becomes *strīyati*. If the word *pratyaya* is read, this defect will not arise.

NOTE :—Since there is *vidhi* for the *lōpa* of *su*, the nominative singular suffix after *strī*, there will be *lōpa* of *ī* by the *sūtra Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 148).

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III

अथ विधिग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *vidhi?*

यस्मात् प्रत्ययस्तदादिप्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने दधि - अधुना, मधु - अधुना, अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । विधिग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति

If the *sūtra* is read *yasmāt pratyayas tadādi pratyayēsṅgam* without the word *vidhi*, *aṅgasaṁjñā* and *bhasaṁjñā* will chance to appear in *dadhi-adhunā* and *madhu-adhunā* since the *pratyaya adhunā* follows *dadhi* and *madhu*. If the word *vidhi* is read, this defect will not arise.

तदेतत्प्रत्ययग्रहणेन विधिग्रहणेन च समुदितेन किं क्रियते?

Hence what is done conjointly by the words *pratyaya* and *vidhi?*

सन्नियोगः । यस्माद्यः प्रत्ययो विधीयते तदादि तस्मिन्नङ्गसंज्ञं भवति

Conjoint injunction. That which commences with a group of letters after which a *pratyaya* is enjoined takes *aṅgasaṁjñā* in the presence of that *pratyaya*.

IV

अथ तदादिग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the reading of *tadādi?*

अङ्गसंज्ञायां तदादिग्रहणं स्यादिनुमर्थम्

Reading of *tadādi* in the *lakṣaṇa* of *aṅga* is for the sake of *sya* etc. and *num*.

अङ्गसंज्ञायां तदादिग्रहणं क्रियते स्याद्यर्थं नुमर्थं च

Tadādi is read in the *lakṣaṇa* of *aṅga* for the sake of *sya* etc. and *num*.

स्याद्यर्थं तावत् - करिष्यावः, करिष्यामः

Firstly for the sake of *sya* etc., as in *kariṣyāvaḥ* and *kariṣyāmaḥ*.

NOTE:—Only when *kariṣya* takes *aṅgasaṁjñā*, *a* after *y* can be lengthened in *kariṣyāvaḥ* and *kariṣyāmaḥ* by the *sūtra* *Atō dīrghō yañi* (7, 1, 3).

नुमर्थं - कुण्डानि वनानि

For the sake of *num* as in *kuṇḍāni* and *vanāni*.

NOTE:—*Numāgama* is by the *sūtra* *Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ* (7, 1, 72) and the *dīrgha* by *Supi ca* (7, 3, 102).

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मित्सुटोरुपसङ्ख्यानम् Need to add *mit* and *suṭ*.

मित्वतः सुड्वतश्चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । मित्वतः - भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति, अभिनत् अच्छिनत् । सुड्वतः - संचस्करतुः संचस्करुः

There is need to mention that *tadādi* is meant for *mitvat* and *suḍvat*, so that the forms *abhinat* and *acchinat* which are *mitvat* and the forms *saṁcaskaratuḥ* and *saṁcaskaruḥ* which are *suḍvat* may be formed.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why cannot they be formed ?

सुटो बहिरङ्गत्वात् । बहिरङ्ग सुट्, अन्तरङ्गो गुणः, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

On account of *suṭ* being *bahiraṅga*. *Suṭ* is *bahiraṅga*, *guṇa* is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is *asiddha* when *antaraṅga-śāstra* is to operate.

NOTE :—1. In the imperfect of *bhid* and *chid*, the seventh conjugational sign *śnam* being *nitya* is first added to them, so that they become *bhinad* and *chinad*. Unless they are taken as *aṅga*, *aḍāgama* by the *sūtra Luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣu aḍ udāttaḥ* (6, 4, 71) cannot set in.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Saṁcaskaratuḥ—Dvir-vacanē kṛtē aḍ-abhyāsavyavāyēpi* (6, 1, 136) *iti suṭi cānaṅgatvāt Ṛtaśca saṁyōgādēr iti guṇō na syāt.*

वक्ष्यत्येतत् - संयोगादेर्गुणविधाने संयोगोपधग्रहणं कृञर्थम्

He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say (under 7, 4, 10) the *vārttika Saṁyōgādēr guṇavidhānē saṁyōgōpadhagrahaṇam kṛñartham* (*saṁyōgōpadha* too should be added in the *sūtra Ṛtaśca saṁyō-gādēr guṇaḥ.*)

यदि संयोगोपधग्रहणं क्रियते, नार्थः संयोगादिग्रहणेन । इहापि सस्वरतुः सस्वरुः इति संयोगोपधस्य इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

If *saṁyōgōpadhasya* is read, no purpose is served by *saṁyōgā-dēḥ*; for the *guṇa* will take place in the forms *sasvaratuḥ* and *sasvaruḥ* also on the strength of *saṁyōgōpadhasya*.

भवेदेवमर्थेन नार्थः, इदं तु न सिध्यति - संचस्करतुः संचस्करुः इति

It is true that no purpose is served by it with reference to *sasvaratuḥ* and *sasvaruḥ*, but the forms *saṁcaskaratuḥ* and *saṁcaskaruḥ* cannot be secured.

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किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why cannot they be secured?

इह तस्य वा ग्रहणं भवति तदादेर्वा, न चेदं तत्, नापि तदादि

The *sūtra* should refer to either *saṁyōgōpadha* or *saṁyōgādi*, but this is neither this nor that (on account of the *bahiraṅgatva* of *suṭ*).

सिद्धं तु तदाद्यादिवचनात्

The object is accomplished by reading *tadādyādi*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished?

कथम्? How?

तदाद्याद्यङ्गसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *tadādyādi* takes *aṅgasaṁjñā*.

किमिदं तदाद्यादीति? What is this word *tādādyādi*?

तस्य आदिः तदादिः, तदादिः आदिः यस्य तद् इदं तदाद्यादि इति

Tadādyādi is the *bahuvrīhi* compound made up of *tadādis* and *ādi*, where *tadādis* is the *tatpuruṣa* compound of *tad* and *ādis*.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः

It should, then, be read in that manner.

न कर्तव्यः । उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । तद्यथा - उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखमस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवं तदाद्यादि तदादि इति

No, it need not be read. It may be considered that there is *lōpa* for the *uttarapada* here, as in the words *uṣṭramukhaḥ* and *kharamukhaḥ* where the *vigrahavākya* of the former is *uṣṭramukham iva mukham asya*. So also *tadādyādi* remains as *tadādi* here.

तदेकदेशविज्ञानाद्वा सिद्धम्

Or the object is achieved by taking that the part denotes the whole.

तदेकदेशविज्ञानाद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते । तद्यथा गङ्गा, यमुना, देवदत्ता इति । अनेका नदी गङ्गां यमुनां प्रविष्टा गङ्गायमुनाग्रहणेन गृह्यते । तथा देवदत्तास्थो गर्भो देवदत्ताग्रहणेन गृह्यते

Or the object is achieved by taking that the part denotes the whole. That of which *tad* is a part is denoted by the word *tad*, as the words *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā* and *Dēvadattā*, where the

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former two refers to many rivers which have fallen in each and *Dēvadattā* refers to her along with *garbha*.

विषम उपन्यासः । इह केचित् शब्दा अव्यक्तपरिमाणानाम् अर्थानां वाचका भवन्ति - य एते सङ्ख्याशब्दाः परिमाणशब्दाश्च - पञ्च सप्त इति । त एकेनाप्यपाये न भवन्ति । द्रोणः खारी आढकम् इति । नैवाधिके भवन्ति न च न्यूने । केचिद् यावदेव तद्भवति तावदेवाहुः - यथैते जातिशब्दा गुणशब्दाश्च । तैलं घृतम् इति खार्यामपि भवति, द्रोणेऽपि । शुक्लो नीलः कृष्ण इति हिमवत्यपि भवति वटकणिकामात्रेऽपि द्रव्ये । अङ्गसंज्ञा चाप्यव्यक्तपरिमाणानां क्रियते, सा केनाधिकस्य स्यात् ?

The argument is not sound. Some words, here, are restricted in their application, as the words denoting number and measure. The words *five* and *seven* cannot denote the desired object even if one is removed from the group. The words *drōṇa*, *khārī* and *āḍhaka* cannot denote its meaning if it is either more or less. There are certain words, like *jātiśabdas* and *guṇa-śabdas* which are extensive in their application. The words *tāila*, *ghṛta* etc. denote whether its measure is *khārī* or *drōṇa*. The words *śukla*, *nīla*, *kṛṣṇa* etc. are applied to objects having that quality whether it is Himalayas or banian seed. *Aṅga-saṁjñā* too is given to those which are *aktaparimāṇas*. Hence how can it be taken to refer to that which is outside its range ?

- एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते इति, यदयं नेदमदसोरकोः इति सककारयोः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that part denotes the whole, since he prohibits, in the *sūtra Nēdamadasōr akōḥ* (7, 1, 11), the *āis-bhāva* to *idam* and *adas* which has no *kakāra*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ? Under what circumstances is it *jñāpaka* ?

इदमदसोः कार्यमुच्यमानं कः प्रसङ्गो यत्सककारयोः स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यत इति । ततः सककारयोः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति

Where is the chance for *idam* and *adas* with *kakāra* to take the *kārya* of *idam* and *adas* ? *Ācārya* sees that part may refer to the whole and hence enjoins the prohibition to *idam* and *adas* with *kakāra*.

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V

अथ द्वितीयं प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the need to read the word *pratyaya* once again?

प्रत्ययग्रहणं पदादावप्रसङ्गार्थम्

Reading of *pratyaya* (the second time) is to prohibit the *saṁjñā* when the *ādi* of the next *pada* follows.

प्रत्ययग्रहणं क्रियते, पदादौ अङ्गसंज्ञा मा भूद् इति

The word *pratyaya* is read, so that *aṅgasaṁjñā* may not set in when *padādi* is *para*.

किं च स्यात् ? What will be the harm if it sets in?

स्त्र्यर्थं, श्र्यर्थं, भ्र्वर्थं, अङ्गस्येयङुवङौ स्याताम्

Iyaṅ and *uvaṅ* which are concerned with *aṅga* will have a chance in *stryartham*, *śryartham* and *bhvartham* in place of *yaṇ*.

परिमाणार्थं च For the sake of *parimāṇa* too.

परिमाणार्थं च द्वितीयं प्रत्ययग्रहणं क्रियते । यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदाद्यङ्गम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने दाशतयस्याप्यङ्गसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत ।

The word *pratyaya* is read the second time to fix the limit. If the *sūtra* is read *Yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādyaṅgam* without the word *pratyayē*, *aṅgasaṁjñā* will chance to appear in the word *dāśataya*.

VI

तर्हि कर्तव्यम् In that case the *sūtra* has to be read.

न कर्तव्यम् No, it need not be read.

केनेदानीम् अङ्गकार्यं भविष्यति ?

What will, then, be the *sādhana* for *aṅgakārya*?

प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्या अङ्गकार्यमध्येष्ये

I learn that there is *aṅgakārya* to the *prakṛti* by the mention of the word *pratyaya*.

यदि प्रत्यय इति प्रकृत्याङ्गकार्यमधीषे प्राकरोत् उपैहिष्ट उपसर्गात् पूर्वौ अडाटौ प्राप्नुतः

If you learn that there is *aṅgakārya* to the *prakṛti* by the mention of the word *pratyaya*, the *āgamas aṭ* and *āṭ* will have a chance to precede the *upasarga* in *prākarōt* and *upāihiṣṭa*.

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सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स तदादितदन्तविज्ञानात्

It is achieved that, on the mention of *pratyaya*, it should be taken that the *aṅgakārya* is to *tadādi* after which the *pratyaya* is enjoined and to that which ends with it.

सिद्धमेतत् - It is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य च ग्रहणं भवति इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

The *paribhāṣā Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa pratyayō vihitas tadādēs tadantasya ca grahaṇam* is to be read.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Yatra pūrvaḥ kāryitvēna āśrīyatē tatra tadādēḥ kāryam bhavati; yatra tu pratyayāntaḥ saṅghāta āśrīyatē tatra tadādēḥ pratyayāntasya grahaṇam bhavati ityarthaḥ.*

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः, एषा परिभाषा क्रियेत प्रत्ययग्रहणं वा?

What is the difference here whether we read this *paribhāṣā* or the *aṅgasaṁjñāsūtra*?

NOTE:--*Kāiyaṭa* arrives at the meaning of *aṅga-saṁjñā-sūtra* to the word *pratyayagrahaṇam* through the derivation *pratyayō gṛhyatē yasmin sūtrē tat.*

अवश्यमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

This *paribhāṣā* must be read even though *aṅgasaṁjñā-sūtra* is read.

बह्न्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि

Many are the benefits accrued from this *paribhāṣā*.

प्रयोजनं धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययसमासतद्धितविधिस्वराः

Benefit is with reference to *dhātu*, *prātipadika*, *pratyaya*, *samāsa*, *taddhitavidhi* and *svara*.

धातु - देवदत्तश्चिकीर्षति, सङ्घातस्य धातुसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

With reference to *dhātu*, there is chance, (in the absence of this *paribhāṣā*) for the group consisting of *Dēvadattaḥ* and *cikīrṣati* to get *dhātu-saṁjñā*.

NOTE:—The result will be the loss of *sup* by the *sūtra Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ*.

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प्रातिपदिक - देवदत्तो गार्ग्यः, सङ्घातस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति
With reference to *prātipadika*, the *saṅghāta Dēvadattō gāryyaḥ* may chance to get *prātipadikasaṁjñā* (in the absence of this *paribhāṣā*).

प्रत्यय - महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, सङ्घातात् प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति
With reference to *pratyaya*, there is chance for *sanpratyaya* after the *saṅghāta mahāntam putram*.

समास - ऋद्धस्य राज्ञः पुरुषः, सङ्घातस्य समाससंज्ञा प्राप्नोति
With reference to *samāsa*, there is chance for *samāsasaṁjñā* to the *saṅghāta ṛddhasya rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*.

तद्धितविधि - देवदत्तो गार्ग्यायणः, सङ्घातात् तद्धितोत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति
With reference to *taddhita-vidhi*, there is chance for the *taddhita-pratyaya* after the *saṅghāta Dēvadattō gārgyāyaṇaḥ*.

स्वर - देवदत्तो गार्ग्यः, सङ्घातस्य ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् इति आद्युदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति
With reference to *svara*, *ādyudātta* may chance to appear in the *saṅghāta Dēvadattō gārgyaḥ* by the *sūtra Ñnityādir nityam* (6, 1, 197).

प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणं भवति इति न दोषो भवति
If the *paribhāṣā Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa vihitas tadādēs tadantasya grahaṇam bhavati* is taken recourse to, the above difficulties will not arise.

सा तर्हि एषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या
If so, that *paribhāṣā* has to be read.

न कर्तव्या । एवं वक्ष्यामि "यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये" गृह्यमाणे गृह्यते । ततः अङ्गम् - अङ्गसंज्ञं च भवति यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये
No, it need not be read. Thus shall I split the *sūtra* into two, of which the former is :—*Yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyayē* after which the expression *gṛhyamāṇē gṛhyatē* is supplied; and the latter is *Aṅgam* where there is *anuvṛtti* to *Yasmāt pratyaya-vidhis tadādi pratyayē*.

यदि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितः तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवति इत्युच्यते, अवतप्तेन-कुलस्थितं त एतत् उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत् सगतिकेन सनकुलेन च समासो न प्राप्नोति ।
If *pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa vihitaḥ tadādēr grahaṇam bhavati* is read, there will be no chance for *samāsa* between *avataptē* and *nakulasthitam* and *udakē* and *viśīrṇam*.

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एवं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स तदादेर्ग्रहणं भवति इत्युक्त्वा ततो वक्ष्यामि कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि

If so, I shall read *Kṛdgrahaṇē gatikārakapūrvasyāpi* after *Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa tadādēr grahaṇam bhavati*.

कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

Then there is need to read the *paribhāṣā Kṛd-grahaṇē gati-kāraka-pūrvasyāpi grahaṇam bhavati*.

कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि?

What are the benefits of this *paribhāṣā*?

प्रयोजनं समासतद्धितविधिस्वराः

Prayōjana is with reference to *samāsa*, *taddhitavidhi* and *svara*.

समास - अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत्, उदकेविशीर्णं त एतत्। सगतिकेन सनकुलेन च समासः सिद्धो भवति

With reference to *samāsa*, *samāsa* will be accomplished between *avataptē* which is *sagatika* and *nakulasthitam* and between *udakē* and *viśīrṇam*.

तद्धितविधि, साङ्कूटिनं, व्यावक्रोशी, सङ्घातात् तद्धितोत्पत्तिः सिद्धा भवति

With reference to *taddhitavidhi*, *taddhita-pratyaya* appears after the *saṅghāta*, *saṅkūṭa* and *vyāvakrōśa*.

स्वर, दूराद् आगतः दूरादागत इति, अन्तः, थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् इत्येष स्वरः सिद्धो भवति।[1]

Antōdāttatva is accomplished in *dūrād-āgataḥ* formed from *dūrād* and *āgataḥ* by the *sūtra Tha-atha-ghañ-kta-aj-ab-itra-kāṇām* (6, 2, 144) after the *adhikāra-sūtra Antaḥ* (6, 2, 143).

सा तर्हि एषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

That *paribhāṣā* must, then, be read.

न कर्तव्या। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषा इति यदयं गतिरनन्तरः इत्यनन्तरग्रहणं करोति

No, it need not be read. The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests this *paribhāṣā*, since he reads the word *anantaraḥ* in the *sūtra Gatir-anantaraḥ* (6, 2, 49).

1. After this '*Kṛdgrahaṇē gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam bhavati*' is read in the editions to denote that that topic is closed, which I have omitted. *Na dōṣō bhavati* which is added to it in Sri Guruprasādaśāstri's edition is misprint.

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NOTE :—1. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* clearly explains under 6, 2, 49 how the word *anantaraḥ* suggests the *paribhāṣā*.

NOTE :—2. According to *Vārttikakāra*, the two *paribhāṣās* may be read and the *sūtra* may be dispensed with. According to *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, the *sūtra* may be kept on, but it may be split into two. The purpose served by the first *paribhāṣā* is served by the former *sūtra* and that served by the second *paribhāṣā* is served by *jñāpaka* from the word *anantara* in 6, 2, 49. Hence the two *paribhāṣās* need not be read.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् (1, 4, 14)

अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थम्? न सुप्तिङ् पदम् इत्येवोच्येत?

What is the need for the word *anta* in the *sūtra*? Will not *Suptiṅ padam* do?

केनेदानीं तदन्तानां भविष्यति?

On what authority will the *saṁjñā* reach those that end in *sup* and *tiṅ*?

तदन्तविधिना

On the authority of that which enjoins *tadanta-vidhi*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Pratyayagrahaṇē yasmāt sa vihita ityanantarōktayā paribhāṣayā tadantavidhēr labdhatvād iti praśnaḥ.*

अत उत्तरं पठति He (*Vārttikakāra*) answers this.

पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम्

Reading of the word *anta* in *pada-saṁjñā-vidhi* is to prohibit *tadanta-vidhi* with reference to *pratyaya* in other *saṁjñāvidhis*.

पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते ज्ञापकार्थम्

The word *anta* is read in the *sūtra Suptiṅantam padam* for the sake of *jñāpaka*.

किं ज्ञाप्यम्? What is suggested?

एतद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः अन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवति इति

Ācārya suggests this—that there is no *tadantavidhi* if *pratyaya* is read in *saṁjñāvidhis* other than this.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

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तरप्तमपौ घः, तरप्तमबन्तस्य घसंज्ञा न भवति

Gha-saṁjñā enjoined in the *sūtra Tarap-tamapāu ghaḥ*, cannot go to *tarabanta* and *tamabanta*.

किं च स्यात्? What will happen, if it goes to them?

कुमारी गौरितरा । घादिषु नद्या ह्रस्वो भवति इति ह्रस्वत्वं प्रसज्येत

When *kumārī* and *gāuritarā* form a compound, *ī* of *kumārī* will be shortened by the *sūtra Gharūpa...ṅyōsnēkācō hrasvaḥ* (6, 3, 43).

NOTE:—When they form a compound, the resultant form is *kumāra-gāuritarā*.

यद्येतद् ज्ञाप्यते सनाद्यन्ता धातवः इत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च - इत्यन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, इदं तृतीयं ज्ञापकार्थम्

If there is this *jñāpana*, the word *anta* should be read in the *sūtra Sanādyantā dhātavaḥ* (3, 1, 32), the word *anta* should be read in the *sūtra Kṛt-taddhita-samāsōśca* (1, 2, 46) and this, the third (has it) for the sake of *jñāpaka*.

द्वे तावत् क्रियेते न्यास एव । यदप्युच्यते कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च इति अन्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति, न कर्तव्यम्; अर्थवद् इति वर्तते, कृत्तद्धितान्तं चैवार्थवन्न केवलाः कृतस्तद्धिता वा

Two *anta's* are read in the respective *sūtra*. As regards the statement that *anta* should be read in the *sūtra Kṛt-taddhita-samāsāśca*, it need not be read; its purpose is served by the *anuvṛtti* of the word *arthavat*, since *kṛt-taddhitāntam* alone is *arthavad* and not pure *kṛts* and *taddhitas*.

नः क्ये (1, 4, 15)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते? न सुबन्तं पदम् इत्येव सिद्धम्?

What for is this *sūtra* read? Is not its purpose accomplished by *Subantam padam*?

नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः, नान्तमेव क्ये पदसंज्ञं भवति नान्यत्

This *sūtra* is for the sake of *niyama*, so that only *nānta*, when followed by the *pratyaya kya*, can take the *padasaṁjñā*.

क्व मा भूत्? Where should not the *saṁjñā* overlap?

वाच्यति, स्रुच्यति In *vācyati* and *srucyati*.

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स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने (1, 4, 17)

असर्वनामस्थान इत्युच्यते, तत्र ते - राजा तक्षा - असर्वनामस्थान इति पदसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत

The word *asarvanāmasthānē* is read here. According to you the *padasamjñā* in *rājā* and *takṣā* is set at naught by the word *asarvanāmasthānē*.

नाप्रतिषेधात् No, on account of its being *non-pratiṣēdha*.

नायं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः सर्वनामस्थाने न इति

It is not *prasajya-pratiṣēdha* giving the sense *sarvanāmasthānē na*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

पर्युदासोऽयं यदन्यत् सर्वनामस्थानादिति । सर्वनामस्थाने अव्यापारः । यदि केन चित् प्राप्नोति तेन भविष्यति । पूर्वेण च प्राप्नोति ।

It is *paryudāsa* giving the sense *sarvanāmasthānāt anyat*. It does not operate with reference to *sarvanāmasthāna*. If it gets it by any other *sūtra*, it will get it. It gets it by the foregoing *sūtra* (*Suptiṅantam padam*).

अप्राप्तेर्वा Or on account of *aprāpti*.

अथ वा अनन्तरा या प्राप्तिः सा प्रतिषिध्यते

Or the *prāpti* which is *anantarā* is set at naught.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it so ?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति

By the dictum *Anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣēdhō vā*.

पूर्वा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा, तया भविष्यति

Pūrvā prāpti is not set at naught and hence it gets it.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वां प्राप्तिं बाधते

Oh, the *prāpti* by this *sūtra* sets at naught *pūrvā prāpti*.

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम्

It, being set at naught, cannot set another at naught.

योगविभागाद्वा Or by altering the form of the *sūtras*.

अथ वा योगविभागः करिष्यते — स्वादिषु, पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति । ततः सर्वनामस्थानेऽयचि, पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति । ततो, भम्, असंज्ञं च भवति यजादावसर्वनामस्थान इति ।

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Or *yōgavibhāga* will be done. First *Svādiṣu* is read and it means that which is followed by *svādis* gets the *pada-saṁjñā*. Then *Sarvanāmasthānēsyaci* is read and it means that which is followed by *sarvanāmathāna* which is not *yac* gets the *padasaṁjñā*. Then *Bham* is read and it means that which is followed by *asarvanāmasthāna* which is *yajādi* gets *bhasaṁjñā*.

यदि तर्हि सावपि पदं भवति, एचः प्लुतविकारे पदान्तग्रहणं चोदितम् । इह मा भूत् - भद्रं करोषि गौरिति । तस्मिन् क्रियमाणेऽपि प्राप्नोति ।

If there is *padasaṁjñā* even before *su*, that which is mentioned with reference to *plutavikāra* of *ēc* (in the *sūtra Ecōspragṛhyasya adūrāddhūtē pūrvasyārdhasya ad uttarasyēdutāu* 8, 2, 107) may happen here in *gāuḥ* in the sentence *Bhadram karōṣi gāuḥ*, but it should not.

वाक्यपदयोरन्त्यस्य इत्येवं तत्

It is with reference to the final of *vākya* and *pada*.

NOTE:—The word *gāuḥ* is mentioned here as *vākya*.

भुवद्वद्भ्यो धारयद्वद्भ्यः पदसंज्ञा

Need to read *pada-saṁjñā* with reference to *bhuvadvadbhyaḥ* and *dhārayadvadbhyaḥ*.

एतयोः पदसंज्ञा वक्तव्या

There is need to mention *padasaṁjñā* with reference to these two.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Tasāu matvarthē iti bhasaṁjñāprāptāu padasaṁjñāvidhiḥ.*

यचि भम् (1, 4, 18)

भसंज्ञायामुत्तरपदलोपे षषः प्रतिषेधः

Need for *pratiṣēdha* of *bhasaṁjñā* with reference to *ṣaṣ* when there is *lōpa* in the following word.

भसंज्ञायामुत्तरपदलोपे षषः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, अनुकम्पितः षडङ्गुलिः षडिकः

There is need to prohibit *bhasaṁjñā* from operating on the word *ṣaṣ* when there is elision in the following word—viz. *ṣaḍikaḥ*[1], meaning *anukampitaḥ ṣaḍaṅguliḥ*.

1. The word *ṣaḍikaḥ* is used to denote a man of six fingers in a sympathising tone. *Ṣaṣ+aṅguli+ika*, where *ika* is by the *sūtras Bahvacō manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhajvā* (5, 3, 78) and *Ṭhasyēkaḥ* (7, 3, 50). *Ṅguli* is dropped by the *sūtra Ṭhājādāvūrdhvam dvitīyād acaḥ* (5, 3, 83) and *a* is dropped by *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 48). Since *ika* commences with a vowel, *ṣaṣ* takes *bhasaṁjñā* and hence there is no chance for *jaśtva*.

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सिद्धमचः स्थानिवत्त्वात्

The object is achieved by the *sthānivattva* of *ac.*

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम्? How?

अचः स्थानिवद्भावाद् भसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

There is no chance for *bhasaṁjñā* on account of the *sthānivadbhāva of a.*

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति - वागाशीर्दत्तः वाचिक इति

It (*jaśtva*) will then chance to appear here also in the word *vācikaḥ.*

वक्ष्यत्येतत् सिद्धमेकाक्षरपूर्वपदानामुत्तरपदलोपवचनात्

He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say (under 5, 3, 84) the *vārttika Siddham ēkākṣarapūrvapadānām uttarapadalōpavacanāt.* (The following word will be completely elided after a single-syllabled word).

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति - षडङ्गुलिः षडिकः

It will chance to be applied even here - in *ṣaḍikaḥ* which is formed from *ṣaḍaṅguli.*

वक्ष्यत्येतत् षषष्ठाजादिवचनात्सिद्धम् इति

He is going to read the *vārttika Ṣaṣaḥ ṭhājādivacanāt siddham* (under 5, 3, 84).

नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्युपसङ्ख्यानम्

Upasaṅkhyāna of *bhatva* to *nabhas, aṅgiras* and *manuṣ* when followed by *vat.*

नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्युपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - नभस्वत् अङ्गिरस्वत् मनुष्वत्

It must be said that *nabhas, aṅgiras* and *manuṣ* take *bhasaṁjñā* before *vat* (i.e.) in *nabhasvat, aṅgirasvat* and *manuṣvat.*

वृषण्वस्वश्वयोः

(*Upasaṅkhyāna* of *bhatva*) to *vṛṣan* before *vasu* and *aśva.*

वृषणित्येतस्य वस्वश्वयोर्भसंज्ञा वक्तव्या - वृषण्वसुः, वृषणश्वस्य यच्छिरः, वृषणश्वस्य मेने ।

Bha-saṁjñā must be enjoined to *vṛaṣaṇ* before *vasu* and *aśva* (i.e.) in *vṛṣaṇvasuḥ* and *vṛṣaṇaśva* found in *vṛṣaṇaśvasya yacchiraḥ* and *vṛṣaṇaśvasya mēnē.*

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तसौ मत्वर्थे (1, 4, 19)

अर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम्? न तसौ मतौ इत्येवोच्येत?

What for is *artha* read? Will not *Tasāu matāu* do?

तसौ मतौ इतीयत्युच्यमाने इहैव स्यात्, पयस्वान् यशस्वान्; इह न स्यात् पयस्वी यशस्वी; अर्थग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे मतुपि च सिद्धं भवति, यश्चान्यः तेन समानार्थः तस्मिंश्च ।

If the *sūtra* is read *Tasāu matāu* without the word *artha*, it will operate only with reference to *payasvān* and *yaśasvān* and not with reference to *payasvī* and *yaśasvī*; if, on the other hand, *artha* is read, it will have within its range not only *matup* but also any other one which has its meaning.

यद्यर्थग्रहणं क्रियते, पयस्वान् अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If the word *artha* is read, the *sūtra* cannot have within its range *payasvān*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

न हि मतुब् मतुबर्थे वर्तते

For *matup* cannot have the purpose of *matup*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Upalakṣaṇasya anyōpalakṣaṇē caritārthatvāt svataḥ kāryam pratinimittatvāvagamābhāvāt.*

मतुबपि मतुबर्थे वर्तते - तद्यथा देवदत्तशालायां ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्ताम् इत्युक्ते यदि देवदत्तोऽपि ब्राह्मणो भवति सोऽप्यानीयते ।

Matup can serve the purpose of *matup*. This may be illustrated thus:—If it is said that the brahmans put up at the quarters of *Dēvadatta* may be brought, *Dēvadatta*, too is brought if he is a brahman.

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि (1, 4, 20)

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि[1] *Ayasmayādis* have both the *saṁjñās*.

उभयसंज्ञान्यपीति वक्तव्यम् । स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन (R. V. 4, 50, 5)

It must be said that they have both the *saṁjñās* (*pada* and *bha*). For instance the word *ṛkvatā* in the *Vēdic* sentence *Sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇēna*, there is *padasaṁjñā* with reference to *kutva* and there is *bhasaṁjñā* with reference to the absence of *jaśtva*.

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बहुषु बहुवचनम् (1, 4, 21)

There are *three* topics here:—(1) Whose *bahutva* is taken into account? (2) Can *guṇapradhānatā* exist without *bhāva-pratyaya*? (3) What is the purpose served by this *sūtra*?

I

बहुषु बहुवचनमित्युच्यते । केषु बहुषु?

The *sūtra* is read *Bahuṣu bahuvacanam.* Whose *bahutva* is taken into account?

अर्थेषु (*Bahutva*) with reference to the objects denoted.

यद्येवं, वृक्षः, प्लक्षः अत्रापि प्राप्नोति । बहवस्तेऽर्थाः - मूलं, स्कन्धः, फलं, पलाशम् इति

If so, *bahuvacana* chances to happen in *vṛkṣa* and *plakṣa*, since many are the objects found there:-root, trunk, fruit, petal etc.

एवं तर्हि एकवचनं द्विवचनं बहुवचनमिति शब्दसंज्ञा एताः - येष्वर्थेषु स्वादयो विधीयन्ते तेषु बहुषु

If so, *ēkavacana*, *dvivacana* and *bahuvacana* are *śabdasaṁjñās*. *Bahuvacana* is used if those are many to denote which *su-ādis* (case-suffixes) are enjoined.

केषु चार्थेषु स्वादयो विधीयन्ते?

In which *arthas* are *svādis* enjoined?

कर्मादिषु In *karma* (*kartur īpsitatamam*) etc.

न वै कर्मादयो विभक्त्यर्थाः

Oh, *karmādis* are not the meanings of cases.

के तर्हि? What then?

एकत्वादयः *Ekatva* etc.

एकत्वादिष्वपि वै विभक्त्यर्थेषु अवश्यं कर्मादयो निमित्तत्वेनोपादेयाः, कर्मणः एकत्वे, कर्मणो द्वित्वे, कर्मणो बहुत्वे इति ।

Even though *ēkatva* etc. are *vibhaktyarthas*, *karmādis* must, necessarily, be taken to be *nimitta* thus:—when *karma* is one, when *karmas* are two or when *karmas* are many.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः It should, then, be so read.

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II

न ह्यन्तरेण भावप्रत्ययं गुणप्रधानो भवति निर्देशः

Word without *bhāvapratyaya* (like *tvam*) does not prominently connote quality.

इह च इत्येके मन्यन्ते, तदेके मन्यन्ते इति परत्वादेकवचनं प्राप्नोति

Besides there is chance for the singular to be used instead of the plural in the expressions *Iti ēkē manyantē* and *Tad ēkē manyantē* since the *sūtra Dvyēkayōr dvivacanāikavacanē* (1, 4, 22) follows this.

NOTE :—This question arises on the assumption that the *prātipadika* in *ēkē* is *ēka* which means one.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् इत्येष योगः परः करिष्यते

This *sūtra Bahuṣu bahuvacanam* will be read after the *sūtra Dvyēkayōḥ....*

सूत्रविपर्यासः कृतो भवति

The order of the *sūtras* adopted by the *Sūtrakāra* is changed.

इह च बहुरोदनः, बहुः सूपः इति परत्वाद्बहुवचनं प्राप्नोति

Besides there will be chance for the use of plural instead of singular in *bahuḥ ōdanaḥ* and *bahuḥ sūpaḥ*, since *Bahuṣu bahuvacanam* will become *para*.

नैष दोषः । यत्तावदुच्यते न ह्यन्तरेण भावप्रत्ययं गुणप्रधानो भवति निर्देश इति तत्र । अन्तरेणापि भावप्रत्ययं गुणप्रधानो भवति निर्देशः

This difficulty does not arise. The first objection raised that word without *bhāvapratyaya* does not prominently connote quality cannot stand, since word even without *bhāvapratyaya* prominently connotes quality.

कथम्? How?

इह कदाचिद् गुणो गुणिविशेषको भवति, तद्यथा पटः शुक्ल इति; कदाचिच्च गुणिना गुणो व्यपदिश्यते पटस्य शुक्ल इति

Sometimes in usage quality is the predicate and the object is the subject, as in *paṭaḥ śuklaḥ* and sometimes the quality is qualified by the object, as in *paṭasya śuklaḥ*.

तद्यदा तावद् गुणो गुणिविशेषको भवति पटः शुक्ल इति, तदा सामानाधिकरण्यं गुणगुणिनोः, तदा नान्तरेण भावप्रत्ययं गुणप्रधानो भवति निर्देशः । यदा तु

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गुणिना गुणो व्यपदिश्यते पटस्य शुक्ल इति, स्वप्रधानस्तदा गुणो भवति, तदा द्रव्ये षष्ठी, तदा अन्तरेण भावप्रत्ययं गुणप्रधानो भवति निर्देशः ।

When *guṇa* is the *vidhēya* of *guṇin*, as in *paṭaḥ śuklaḥ*, there is apposition between *guṇa* and *guṇin* and there the word primarily connotes quality without *bhāvapratyaya*. When *guṇa* is qualified by *guṇin*, as in *paṭasya śuklaḥ*, *guṇa* becomes prominent since sixth case is used along with the word denoting *guṇin* and hence the word prominently denotes quality without *bhāvapratyaya*.

न चेह वयमेकत्वादिभिः कर्मादीन् विशेषयिष्यामः

We are not going to take the *ēkatvādis* here to be the adjuncts of *karmādis*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

कर्मादिभिरेकत्वादीन् विशेषयिष्यामः

We are going to take *karmādis* to be the adjuncts of *ēkatvādis*.

कथम् ? How ?

एकस्मिन्नेकवचनम् । कस्यैकस्मिन्? कर्मणः

There is singular suffix when oneness is to be connoted. Whose oneness ? Of the *karma*.

द्वयोर्द्विवचनम् । कयोर्द्वयोः ? कर्मणोः

There is dual suffix when duality is to be connoted. Whose duality ? Of the *karmas*.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् । केषां बहुषु ? कर्मणाम् इति

There is plural suffix when plurality is to be connoted. Whose plurality ? Of the *karmas*.

कथं बहुषु बहुवचनमिति ?

How is *bahuṣu* used in *Bahuṣu bahuvacanam* (and not *bahāu* since *bahutva* is one) ?

एतदेव ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो नानाधिकरणवाची यो बहुशब्दः तस्येदं ग्रहणं न वैपुल्यवाचिनः इति

Ācārya suggests this that the word *bahutva* connotes the state of existing in many places and not extensiveness.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the purpose served by this *jñāpana* ?

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यदुक्तं बहुरोदनः बहुः सूपः इति परत्वाद् बहुवचनं प्राप्नोति इति न स दोषो भवति ।
The defect that was raised that *bahuvacana* may, the *sūtra Bahuṣu bahuvacanam* being *para*, find its place in *bahur ōdanaḥ, bahuḥ sūpaḥ* cannot stand.

यदप्युच्यते इत्येके मन्यन्ते तदेके मन्यन्ते इति परत्वाद् एकवचनं प्राप्नोति इति, नैष दोषः । एकशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः - अस्त्येव सङ्ख्यावाची तद्यथा एको, द्वौ बहव इति; अस्ति असहायवाची तद्यथा एकाग्नयः, एकहलानि, एकाकिभिः क्षुद्रकैर्जितम् इति; अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते तद्यथा सधमादो द्युम्न एकास्ताः अन्याः इत्यर्थः । तद्योऽन्यार्थे वर्तते तस्यैष प्रयोगः ।
The other defect too that was raised that singular suffix will chance to appear in *ēkē* in *Iti ēkē manyantē, Tad ēkē manyantē* on account of the *sūtra Dvyēkayōḥ*...being *para* cannot stand. This word *ēka* has many meanings. It is a *numeral* in *ēkaḥ, dvāu, bahavaḥ* etc. It means *one without a companion* in *ēkāgnayaḥ, ēkahalāni* and *ēkākibhiḥ kṣudrakāir jitam*. It means *another* in *Sadham ādō dyumna ēkāstāḥ*, where *ēkāḥ* means *anyāḥ*. Hence this is a *prayōga* where the word *ēka* is used in the sense of *anya*.

III

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ?
What is the purpose served by this *sūtra* ?

सुप्तिङामविशेषविधानाद् दृष्टविप्रयोगाच्च नियमार्थं वचनम्
The *sūtra* is for the sake of *niyama* on account of *sup* and *tiṅ* being enjoined generally to the *prātipadika* and on account of the existence of *viruddhaprayōga*.

सुपोऽविशेषेण प्रातिपदिकमात्राद्विधीयन्ते, तिङोऽविशेषेण धातुमात्राद् विधीयन्ते
The case-suffixes are enjoined to *prātipadikas* in general and the verbal terminations to roots in general.

तत्रैतत् स्याद् यद्यप्यविशेषेण विधीयन्ते नैव विप्रयोगो लक्ष्यते इति
This point may arise there that, though they are enjoined to the *prātipadika* in general, there is no incorrect usage.

दृष्टविप्रयोगाच्च - दृश्यते खल्वपि विप्रयोगः । तद्यथा - अक्षीणि मे दर्शनीयानि, पादा मे सुकुमारा इति

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On account of *dṛṣṭaviprayōga.* Incorrect usage also is found - viz. *akṣīṇi mē darśanīyāni, pādā mē sukumārāḥ.*

NOTE:--Even though a man has two eyes and two feet, the *bahuvacana* is used here.

सुप्तिङोरविशेषविधानाद् दृष्टविप्रयोगाच्च व्यतिकरः प्राप्नोति, इष्यते चाव्यतिकरः स्यादिति, तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति इति नियमार्थं वचनम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते
On account of *sup* and *tiṅ* being enjoined in a general way and on account of usage against what is seen in nature, one may be used in place of another; but it is desired that every one is used correctly and this is not possible without effort. Hence is this *sūtra* for *niyama.* This is read only for this.

अथैतस्मिन्नियमार्थे सति किं पुनरयं प्रत्ययनियमः एकस्मिन्नेव एकवचनं द्वयोरेव द्विवचनं बहुष्वेव बहुवचनम् इति, आहोस्विद् अर्थनियमः एकस्मिन् एकवचनमेव द्वयोर्द्विवचनमेव बहुषु बहुवचनमेव इति?
If it is, then, intended for *niyama*, is there *pratyaya-niyama* that *ēkavacana* is used when one-ness alone is connoted, that *dvivacaca* is used when duality alone is connoted and that *bahuvacana* is used when plurality alone is connoted or is there *arthaniyama* that *ēkavacana* alone connotes oneness, *dvivacana* alone connotes duality and *bahuvacana* alone connotes plurality?

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference?

तत्र प्रत्ययनियमेऽव्ययानां पदसंज्ञाभावोऽसुबन्तत्वात्
If it is *pratyaya-niyama* there, *avyayas* cannot get *padasaṁjñā*, since they are not *subanta.*

तत्र प्रत्ययनियमे अव्ययानां पदसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, उच्चैः, नीचैः इति
If it is *pratyayaniyama* there, *avyayas* cannot get *pada-saṁjñā.* viz. *uccāiḥ* and *nīcāiḥ.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

असुबन्तत्वात् Since they are not *subanta.*

अर्थनियमे सिद्धम् It is achieved if it is *arthaniyama.*

अर्थनियमे सिद्धम् भवति
The object is achieved if it is *arthaniyama.*

अस्त्वर्थनियमः Let there be *artha-niyama.*

अथवा पुनरस्तु प्रत्ययनियमः Or let it be *pratyaya-niyama.*

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ननु चोक्तं तत्र प्रत्ययनियमे अव्ययानां पदसंज्ञाभावोऽसुबन्तत्वादिति !

Oh, it was said that, if it is *pratyaya-niyama*, *avyayas* do not get *pada-saṁjñā* on account of their not being *subanta*!

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

सुपां कर्मादयोऽप्यर्थाः सङ्ख्या चैव तथा तिङाम्

Karma etc. too are the meanings of case-suffixes along with *saṅkhyā* and the same is with verbal terminations too.

सुपां सङ्ख्या चैवार्थः कर्मादयश्च । तथा तिङां

Saṅkhyā and *karmādis* are the meanings of the case-suffixes and the same is with verbal terminations.

प्रसिद्धो नियमस्तत्र The *niyama* (among the *arthas*) is well known.

प्रसिद्धस्तत्र नियमः

The *niyama* (among the *arthas*) is well known.

नियमः प्रकृतेषु

Niyama among those of the same class in the context.

अथवा प्रकृतार्थानपेक्ष्य नियमः

Or *niyama* has within its range the objects of the same class in the context.

के च प्रकृताः? What are *prakṛtas*?

एकत्वादयः *Ekatva* etc.

एकस्मिन्नेवैकवचनं न द्वयोर्न बहुषु । द्वयोरेव द्विवचनं नैकस्मिन् न बहुषु । बहुष्वेव बहुवचनं, न द्वयोर्नैकस्मिन् इति

Singular number is used to denote only one object of a class and not either two of them or many of them. Dual number is used to denote only two objects and not either one of them or many of them. Plural number is used to denote only many of them and not either one of them or two of them.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :– *Tulyajātīyasya niyamēna vyāvṛttiḥ kriyatē iti avyayēbhyaḥ svādīnām avyāvṛttiḥ*.

अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति उत्पद्यन्तेऽव्ययेभ्यः स्वादयः इति, यदयम् अव्ययादाप्सुपः इत्यव्ययाल्लुकं शास्ति ।

Or the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *svādis* are attached even to *avyayas*, since he enjoins the elision of *āp* and *sup* after them in the *sūtra Avyayād āpsupaḥ* (2, 4, 82).

SIXTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, second *āhnika* ends).

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SEVENTEENTH ĀHNIKA

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, third *āhnika*)

कारके (1, 4, 23)

There are *four* topics dealt with here:—(1) *Kāraka* is *saṁjñā-nirdēśa*. (2) Is the mention of *saṁjñin* necessary or no? (3) If *kāraka* is *anvarthasaṁjñā*, how can it be applied to *karaṇa*, *adhikaraṇa* etc? (4) *Kārakē* may mean *kriyāyām*.

I

किमिदं कारके इति? What is this word *kārakē*?

संज्ञानिर्देशः It is *saṁjñā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the seventh case is used for the first case.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be stated so?

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it to be so understood if it is not so stated?

इह हि व्याकरणे ये वैते लोके प्रतीतपदार्थकाः शब्दास्तैर्निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते, पशुः अपत्यं देवता इति, या वैता कृत्रिमाः टि - घु - भादि - संज्ञाः

Here, in grammar, ideas are expressed through words like *paśuḥ*, *apatyam*, *Dēvatā* etc. whose meaning is definitely understood from the usage in the word or through technical expressions like *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc.

न चायं लोके ध्रुवादीनां प्रतीतपदार्थकः शब्दः; न खल्वपि कृत्रिमा संज्ञा, अन्यत्राविधानात्

The word *dhruva* etc. found here is not generally used in that sense in the world, nor is it a technical term on account of its not being used elsewhere in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

संज्ञाधिकारश्चायम्। किमन्यच्छक्यं विज्ञातुमन्यदतः संज्ञायाः?

This section deals with *saṁjñās*. Therefore in what way other than *saṁjñā* can it be interpreted?

II

कारक इति संज्ञानिर्देशश्चेत् संज्ञिनो निर्देशः

If *kāraka* is *saṁjñā*, there is need for the mention of *saṁjñin*.

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कारक इति संज्ञानिर्देशश्चेत् संज्ञिनोऽपि निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । साधकं निर्वर्तकं कारकसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

If the word *kāraka* is *saṁjñā*, there is need to mention the *saṁjñin* also thus:–*Sādhakam* (which means *nirvartakam*) (of the *kriyā*) is *kārakasaṁjñā*.

इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गो ग्रामस्य समीपादागच्छतीत्यकारकस्य

Otherwise there is chance for a usage which is not accepted, as the *apādānasaṁjñā* to *grāma* which is *akāraka* in the sentence *grāmasya samīpād āgaccati.*

इतरथा हि अनिष्टं प्रसज्येत

For, if the *saṁjñin* is not stated, there is chance for a usage which is not accepted.

अकारकस्यापि अपादानसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत

There is chance for *apādānasaṁjñā* to that which is not a *kāraka*.

क्व ? Where ?

ग्रामस्य समीपादागच्छति इति

In the sentence *Grāmasya samīpād āgacchati*.

नैष दोषः । नात्र ग्रामोऽपाययुक्तः

This difficulty cannot arise; for *grāma*, here, does not have separation.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

समीपम् - *Samīpa* (the adjoining place.)

यदा च ग्रामोऽपाययुक्तो भवति, भवति तदा अपादानसंज्ञा । तद्यथा - ग्रामाद् आगच्छति इति

When *grāma* is the place wherefrom separation happens, it takes *apādānasaṁjñā*, as in *grāmād āgacchati*.

कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गोऽकथितस्य, ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रं पन्थानं पृच्छति इति

There is chance for *karma-saṁjñā* to *akathita* in the sentence *Brāhmaṇasya putram panthānam pṛcchati*.

कर्मसंज्ञा च प्राप्नोत्यकथितस्य

There is chance for *karma-saṁjñā* to *akathita*.

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क्व? where?

ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रं पन्थानं पृच्छति इति

(To *brāhmaṇa*) in the sentence *Brāhmaṇasya putram panthānam pṛcchati.*

नैष दोषः । अयमकथितशब्दोऽस्त्येवासङ्कीर्तिते वर्तते, तद्यथा कश्चित् कञ्चित् संचक्ष्य आह - असावत्राकथितः असङ्कीर्तित इति गम्यते ।

This difficulty does not arise, since the word *akathita* here means *asaṅkīrtita* (omitted). Some one failing to mention the name of a person says, '*Asāu atra akathitaḥ,*' where *akatithaḥ* suggests the sense of *asaṅkīrtitaḥ*.

अस्त्यप्राधान्ये वर्तते । तद्यथा - अकथितोऽसौ ग्रामे, अकथितोऽसौ नगरे इत्युच्यते, यो यत्राप्रधानो भवति

The word *akathita* is used to denote *aprādhānya.* This may be illustrated thus :—One who is not prominent in a village or a city is mentioned thus:—This man is *akathita* in the village; this man is *akathita* in the city.

तद्यदा अप्राधान्ये अकथितशब्दो वर्तते तदैष दोषः - कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गोऽकथितस्य ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रं पन्थानं पृच्छति इति ।

It is only when *akathita* means *apradhāna*, the defect '*karma-samjñā-prasaṅgō-ऽkathitasya brāhmaṇasya putram panthānam pṛcchati*' arises.

NOTE : —*Aprādhānyam* here means *pradhānabhinnatvam*.

अपादानं च वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति इति

Chance for *apādānasaṁjñā* to *vṛkṣa* in the sentence *Vṛkṣasya parṇam patati* (the leaf of the tree falls).

अपादानसंज्ञा च प्राप्नोति There is chance for *apādānasaṁjñā*.

क्व? Where?

वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति, कुड्यस्य पिण्डः पतति इति

(To *vṛkṣa*) in *vṛkṣasya parṇam patati* and to *kuḍya* in *kuḍyasya piṇḍaḥ patati* (a mass of wall's plaster falls).

न वा अपायस्याविवक्षितत्वात्

No, on account of the separation not being taken into account.

न वा एष दोषः This defect cannot stand.

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किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अपायस्याविवक्षितत्वात् Since there is no *vivakṣā* for *apāya*.

नात्र अपायो विवक्षितः

The *apāyatva* is not taken into account.

किं तर्हि What then ?

सम्बन्धः The relationship.

यदा चापायो विवक्षितो भवति, भवति तदा अपादानसंज्ञा । तद्यथा - वृक्षात् पर्णं पतति इति । सम्बन्धस्तु तदा न विवक्षितो भवति, न ज्ञायते कङ्कस्य वा कुररस्य वेति ।

When there is *vivakṣā* for *apāya*, it gets *apādānasaṁjñā*, as in *vṛkṣāt parṇam patati* (leaf falls from the tree). There is no *vivakṣā* for *sambandha* in that case, whether *parṇa* (leaf) belongs to *kaṅka* a kind of mango or *parṇa* (wing) belongs to *kurara* (osprey)

अयं तर्हि दोषः कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गश्चाकथितस्य ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रं पन्थानं पृच्छति इति

This defect, then, *karma-saṁjñā-prasaṅgaś ca akathitasya brāhmaṇasya putram pṛcchati*, stands.

नैष दोषः । कारक इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते, संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः

This defect does not stand. A long *saṁjñā* in the form *kāraka* is given here and *saṁjñā* is always in a form than which nothing is shorter.

कुत एतत् ? What is the source for saying so ?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम्

For, giving *saṁjñā* is only for ease of *śāstrapravṛtti*.

तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् - अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत करोति इति कारकम् इति

The benefit of giving a long *saṁjñā* there is that it should be taken to be *anvartha* (i.e.) its meaning should adhere to its derivation. *Kāraka* is so called since it does.

III

अन्वर्थमिति चेदकर्तरि कर्तृशब्दानुपपत्तिः

If it is *anvartha*, inappropriateness of calling one a *kāraka* which is not *kartā* (doer of the action.)

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अन्वर्थमिति चेद् अकर्तरि कर्तृशब्दो नोपपद्यते, करणं कारकम्, अधिकरणं कारकम् इति

If it is *anvartha*, the word *kāraka* is inappropriate if it is used with reference to that which is not *kartā* like *karaṇam kārakam* and *adhikaraṇam kārakam.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :—*Kartṛśabda iti–kartṛvācī kāraka-śabda ityarthaḥ.*

सिद्धं तु प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदात् पचादीनां करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृभावः

The *kartṛtva* of *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* is achieved on account of every *kāraka* having different *kriyā* with reference to cooking etc.

सिद्धः करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृभावः

The *kartṛtva* of *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* is accomplished.

कुतः ? How ?

प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदात् पचादीनाम् - पचादीनां हि प्रतिकारकं क्रिया भिद्यते ।

Since every *kāraka* has a different *kriyā* with reference to *pāka* etc. For, among the *kriyās* which go to make up *paci-kriyā*, etc. the *kriyā* pertaining to each *kāraka* is different.

किमिदं प्रतिकारकम् इति ? What is this - *pratikārakam ?*

कारकं कारकं प्रति प्रतिकारकम्

The word *pratikārakam* is derived thus :—*Kārakam kārakam prati.*

कोऽसौ प्रतिकारकं क्रियाभेदः पचादीनाम् ?

What is it that each *kāraka* has a different *kriyā* with reference to *pākakriyā* etc. ?

अधिश्रयणोदकासेचनतण्डुलावपनैधोपकर्षणक्रियाः प्रधानस्य कर्तुः पाकः

The *pāka* of the *pradhāna-kartā* consists in heating the pot, pouring water into it, throwing rice into it and lastly removing the fuel.

अधिश्रयणोदकासेचनतण्डुलावपनैधोपकर्षणादिक्रियाः कुर्वन्नेव देवदत्तः पचति इत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एषः प्रधानकर्तुः पाकः । एतत्प्रधानकर्तुः कर्तृत्वम्

Dēvadatta, when he heats the pot, pours water into it, throws rice into it, removes the fuel etc., is said that he cooks. The

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pākakriyā exists there. This is the *pāka* of the *pradhāna-kartā*. This is the *kartṛtva* of *pradhāna-kartā*.

द्रोणं पचत्याढकं पचतीति सम्भवनक्रिया धारणक्रिया चाधिकरणस्य पाकः

The *pāka* of *adhikaraṇa* is the capacity to hold and to keep it on, seen in the expressions *drōṇam pacati* and *āḍhakam pacati*.

द्रोणं पचति आढकं पचति इति सम्भवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च कुर्वती स्थाली पचतीत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एषोऽधिकरणस्य पाकः । एतदधिकरणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।

The cooking pot holding a *drōṇa* - measure of corn or *āḍhaka* - measure of corn and keeping it on till the cooking is finished is said to cook *drōṇa* or *āḍhaka*. The *pāka-kriyā* exists then and there. This is the *pāka* of *adhikaraṇa*. This is the *kartṛtva* of *adhikaraṇa*.

एधाः पक्ष्यन्त्याविक्लित्तेर्ज्वलिष्यन्तीति ज्वलनक्रिया करणस्य पाकः

The *pāka* of *karaṇa* is the continuity of burning till the corn is completely boiled as in *ēdhāḥ pakṣyanti* (fuel will cook).

एधाः पक्ष्यन्ति आ विक्लित्तेर्ज्वलिष्यन्तीति ज्वलनक्रियां कुर्वन्ति काष्ठानि पचन्तीत्युच्यन्ते । तत्र तदा पचिर्वर्तते । एष करणस्य पाकः । एतत्करणस्य कर्तृत्वम् ।

The fuel is said to cook with the idea that it will burn till the corn is completely boiled. The *pāka-kriyā* exists then and there. This is the *pāka* of *karaṇa*. This is the *kartṛtva* of *karaṇa*.

उद्यमननिपातनानि कर्तुश्छिदिक्रिया

Raising and beating is the *chēdana-kriyā* (the act of cutting) of the *kartā*.

उद्यमननिपातनानि कुर्वन्नेव देवदत्तश्छिनत्ति इत्युच्यते । तत्र तदा छिदिर्वर्तते । एष प्रधानकर्तुश्छेदः । एतत्प्रधानकर्तुः कर्तृत्वम् ।

Dēvadatta, while raising and beating, is said to cut. The cutting exists then and there. This is the *chēda* of the *pradhāna-kartā*. This is the *kartṛtva* of the *pradhāna-kartā*.

यत्तन्न तृणेन तत्परशोच्छेदनम्

The cutting of an axe is not that of a grass.

यत्तत् समाने उद्यमने निपातने च परशुना छिद्यते, न तृणेन, तत् परशोच्छेदनम्

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Even though raising and beating are the same whether one is cut with an axe or with grass, the cutting of the axe is that done with the axe, but not with grass.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्

This is certainly to be understood in this way.

इतरथा हि असितृणयोश्छेदनेऽविशेषः स्यात्

For, otherwise there will be no difference between the cutting with an axe and that with grass.

यो हि मन्यते उद्यमननिपातनादेवैतद्भवति छिनत्तीति असितृणयोश्छेदने न तस्य विशेषः स्याद् यदसिना छिद्यते तृणेनापि तत् छिद्येत ।

There will be no difference between the cutting with an axe and that with grass for him who holds the view that cutting is nothing but raising and beating. That which is cut with an axe may, according to him, be cut with grass.

अपादानादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः

But the *kartṛtva* of *apādānādis* is not well-known.

अपादानादीनां तु कर्तृत्वस्याप्रसिद्धिः । यथा हि भवता करणादीनां कर्तृत्वं निदर्शितं, न तथा अपादानादीनां निदर्श्यते

There is *aprasiddhi* of *kartṛtva* of *apādānādis*. The *kartṛtva* of *apādānādis* is not demonstrated by you in the same way as that of *karaṇādis*.

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here:—*Ādinā sampradānam. Bahuvacanam tu prayōga-bāhulya-abhiprāyēṇa.*

न वा स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात्तयोः पर्यायेण वचनं, वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा

No; *vivakṣā* depends upon *svātantrya* (independence) or *pāratantrya* (dependence) which alternates with each other and *saṁjñā* depends upon *vivakṣā*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात् - सर्वत्रैवात्र स्वातन्त्र्यं पारतन्त्र्यं च विवक्षितम्

On account of being *svatantra* and *paratantra*. Attention is here paid in all cases to *svātantrya* and *pāratantrya*.

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तयोः पर्यायेण वचनम् – तयोः स्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्योः पर्यायेण वचनं भविष्यति। वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा भविष्यति

Alternately is their *vivakṣā*. *Vivakṣā* alternates on account of independence and dependence. *Saṁjñā* depends upon *vivakṣā*.

तद्यथा - वलाहकाद् विद्योतते विद्युत्, वलाहके विद्योतते, वलाहको विद्योतते इति

This may be illustrated thus :—Lightning shines from the cloud, lightning shines in the cloud and cloud flashes with lightning.

किं तर्हि उच्यते अपादानादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः इति ?

Why is it, then, the *vārttika Apādānādīnām tvaprasiddhiḥ* commented upon thus :-*Apādānādīnām tu kartṛtvasya aprasiddhiḥ* ?

एवं तर्हि न ब्रूमः अपादानादीनां कर्तृत्वस्याप्रसिद्धिः इति । पर्याप्तं करणाधिकरणयोः कर्तृत्वं निदर्शितमपादानादीनां कर्तृत्वनिदर्शिनाय, पर्याप्तो हि एकः पुलाकः स्थाल्या निदर्शनाय ।

If so, we do not explain it thus :—*Apādānādīnām kartṛtvasya aprasiddhiḥ*. The demonstration how *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* can be *kartā* is quite sufficient to prove the *kartṛtva* of *apādāna* etc. One grain of boiled rice is sufficient to tell us the boiled state of rice in the whole pot.

किं तर्हि ? Whose *aprasiddhi* then ?

संज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः । यावता सर्वत्रैवात्र स्वातन्त्र्यं विद्यते पारतन्त्र्यं च । तत्र परत्वात्कर्तृसंज्ञैव प्राप्नोति ।

Aprasiddhi of the *saṁjñā* (*apādāna* etc.) Since both independence and dependence are seen everywhere, *kartṛsaṁjñā* alone may chance to be had on account of the *sūtra* enjoining it being *para*.

अत्रापि न वा स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वात्तयोः पर्यायेण वचनं, वचनाश्रया च संज्ञा इत्येव ।

Even here the answer is the same :- No, *vivakṣā* depends upon independence or dependence which alternates with each other and *saṁjñā* depends upon *vivakṣā*.

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यथा पुनरिदं भवता स्थाल्याः कर्तृत्वं निदर्शितं, सम्भवनक्रियां च धारणक्रियां च कुर्वती स्थाली स्वतन्त्रेति, केदानीं परतन्त्रता स्यात् ?

Since the *kartṛtva* of the *sthālī* was demonstrated by you that it is *svatantra* with respect to the holding of rice and retaining it, where is it then, possible for it to be *paratantra ?*

यत्तत्प्रक्षालनं परिवर्तनं वा

(It is *paratantra*) with reference to washing it or inverting it.

न वा एवमर्थं स्थाल्युपादीयते प्रक्षालनं परिवर्तनं च करिष्यामि इति

Pot is not brought in that it should be washed or inverted.

किं तर्हि? What then?

सम्भवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च करिष्यतीति

(It is brought in) that it will hold and retain.

तत्र चासौ स्वतन्त्रा There is it *svatantra*.

केदानीं परतन्त्रा Where is it, then, *paratantra ?*

एवं तर्हि स्थालीस्थे यत्ने कथ्यमाने स्थाली स्वतन्त्रा, कर्तृस्थे यत्ने कथ्यमाने परतन्त्रा

If so, *sthālī* is independent with reference to action in it and dependent with reference to action in the *kartā*.

ननु च भोः कर्तृस्थेऽपि यत्ने कथ्यमाने स्थाली सम्भवनक्रियां धारणक्रियां च करोति तत्रासौ स्वतन्त्रा । केदानीं परतन्त्रा स्यात् ?

Oh! sir, even when the action of the *kartā* is stated, *sthālī* does the act of holding and retaining it and hence it is *svatantra*. When, then, is it *paratantra ?*

एवं तर्हि प्रधानेन समवाये स्थाली परतन्त्रा, व्यवाये स्वतन्त्रा । तद्यथा - अमात्यानां राज्ञा सह समवाये पारतन्त्र्यं, व्यवाये स्वातन्त्र्यम् ।

If, so, *sthālī* is dependent when it is in association with the *kartā* and it is independent when it is not in association with the *kartā*. This may be illustrated thus :– There is *pāratantrya* to ministers if they are in association with the king and *svātantrya* in his absence.

किं पुनः प्रधानम् ? Which is *pradhāna* ?

कर्ता The doer.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते कर्ता प्रधानमिति ?

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How is it known that *kartā* is *pradhāna?*

यत्सर्वेषु साधनेषु सन्निहितेषु कर्ता प्रवर्तयिता भवति

Since he makes all the *sādhanas* which are ready at hand do their work.

ननु च भोः प्रधानेनापि वै समवाये स्थाल्या अनेनार्थः अधिकरणं कारकमिति

Oh, sir, even when *sthālī* is in association with *pradhāna*, purpose is served only by this *adhikaraṇam kārakam.*

न हि कारकमित्यनेन अधिकरणत्वमुक्तम् अधिकरणमिति वा कारकत्वम् । उभौ चान्योन्यविशेषकौ भवतः ।

For the word *kāraka* does not connote *adhikaraṇatva*, nor does *adhikaraṇa* connote *kārakatva.* Both of them restrict the application of each other.

कथम्? How?

एकद्रव्यसमवायित्वात्

Since both exist in the same *dravya* with *samavāya-sambandha.*

तद्यथा गार्ग्यो देवदत्त इति । न हि गार्ग्य इत्यनेन देवदत्तत्वमुक्तं, देवदत्त-इत्यनेन वा गार्ग्यत्वम् । उभौ चान्योन्यशिषकौ भवत एकद्रव्यसमवायित्वात् ।

This is like *Gārgyō Dēvadattaḥ.* The word *Gārgya* does not connote *Dēvadattvam*, nor does the word *Dēvadatta* connote *Gārgyatvam.* Both restrict the application of each other, since both exist in the same person with *samavāya-sambandha.*

एवं तर्हि सामान्यभूता क्रिया वर्तते । तस्या निवर्तकं कारकम्

If so, *kāraka* is that which does the *pradhānakriyā* or *kriyā* in general.

IV

अथ वा यावद् ब्रूयात् क्रियायाम् इति तावत् कारके इति । एवं च कृत्वा निर्देश उपपन्नो भवति कारके इति । इतरथा हि कारकेषु इति ब्रूयात्

Or *kārakē* may be interpreted as *kriyāyām* where the *saptamī* denotes *viṣayatva.* Only then the use of *kārakē* will be correct. Or he would have read *kārakēṣu.*

NOTE :—*Or* means *if, on the other hand; it is nirdhāraṇa-saptamī.*

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ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् (1, 4, 24)

There are *three* topics here:-(1) The need of the word *dhruvam* in the *sūtra*. (2) The need or otherwise of the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *jugupsā* etc. and (3) The appropriateness or otherwise of *apādānasaṁjñā* to words denoting objects in motion.

I

ध्रुवग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *dhruva* in the *sūtra*?

ग्रामादागच्छति शकटेन

Fearing that *apādānasaṁjñā* may be applied to *śakaṭa* in the sentence *Grāmād āgacchati śakaṭēna* (since *śakaṭa* too is the *sādhana* for *apāya*).

नैतदस्ति । करणसंज्ञाऽत्र बाधिका भविष्यति

No, it is not; *karaṇasaṁjñā* sets it at naught here.

इदं तर्हि ग्रामादागच्छन्कंसपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते इति ।

If so, it may be applied to *kaṁsa-pātrī* in the sentence *Gramād āgacchan kaṁsa-pātryām pāṇinā ōdanam bhuṅktē*.

अत्राप्यधिकरणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति

Even here *adhikaraṇa-saṁjñā* sets it at naught.

इदं तर्हि वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति, कुड्यस्य पिण्डः पतति इति

If so, it may be applied to *vṛkṣa* and *kuḍya* in the sentences *vṛkṣasya parṇam patati* and *kuḍyasya piṇḍaḥ patati*.

II

जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Need for the addition of *apādānasaṁjñā* to words denoting objects of *jugupsā*, *virāma* and *pramāda*.

जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

Addition of *apādānasaṁjñā* to words denoting objects of *jugupsā*, *virāma* and *pramāda* should be made.

जुगुप्सा - अधर्माज्जुगुप्सते, अधर्माद्बीभत्सते । विराम - धर्माद् विरमति, धर्मान्निवर्तते । प्रमाद - धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति, धर्मान्मुह्यति

With reference to *jugupsā*—*Adharmāj jugupsatē*, and *adharmād bībhatsatē*. With reference to *virāma*—*Dharmād viramati* and

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dharmān nivartatē. With reference to *pramāda—Dharmāt pramādyati* and *dharmān muhyati*.

इदं चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् — साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः इति ।

This too should be added:—*Sāṅkāśyakēbhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatarāḥ*.

तत्तर्हि इदं बहु वक्तव्यम् ? If so, is it that much has to be said?

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not.

इह तावद् अधर्माज्जुगुप्सते अधर्माद्बीभत्सते इति, य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति, स पश्यति दुःखोऽधर्मो नानेन कृत्यमस्तीति । स बुद्ध्या सम्प्राप्य निवर्तते । तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

Firstly here in *adarmāj jugupsatē* and *adharmād bībhatsatē*, a man of foresight sees that *adharma* is the source of grief and hence it should not be done and having thus come in association with it in his mind he recedes. Hence it can be secured by the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam* itself.

इह धर्माद्विरमति धर्मान्निवर्तते इति, धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति धर्मान्मुह्यतीति, इह य एष मनुष्यः सम्भिन्नबुद्धिर्भवति स पश्यति नेदं किञ्चिद्धर्मो नाम नैनं करिष्यामीति स बुद्ध्या सम्प्राप्य निवर्तते । तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम्

Here in *dharmād viramati* (he recedes from *dharma*) *dharmān nivartatē*, *dharmāt pramādyati* (he slips away from *dharma*) and *dharmān muhyati*, a man of analytical mind sees that he will not do it since it is not *dharma* and having thus come in association with it in his mind he recedes. Hence these can come under the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam*.

इह च साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतरा इति, यस्तैः साम्यं गतवान्भवति स एतत् प्रयुङ्क्ते ।

With reference to *Sāṅkāśyakēbhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatarāḥ*, he who originally began to think that both were of the same beautiful feature says this.

III

गतियुक्तेष्वपादानसंज्ञा नोपपद्यतेऽध्रुवत्वात्

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Apādānasaṁjñā with reference to the objects in motion is not appropriate on account of their not being *dhruva*.

गतियुक्तेष्वपादानसंज्ञा नोपपद्यते - रथात्प्रवीतात्पतितः अश्वात्त्रस्तात्पतितः, सार्थाद्गच्छतो हीनः इति

Apādānasaṁjñā is not appropriate with reference to objects in motion, as in *Rathāt pravītāt patitaḥ* (he fell down from the chariot in motion), *Aśvāt trastāt patitaḥ* (he fell down from the horse which was excited with fear), *Sārthād gacchatō hīnaḥ* (he strayed from the caravan which was going).

किं कारणम्? Why?

अध्रुवत्वात् On account of the presence of *adhrāuvya*.

न वाऽध्रौव्यस्याविवक्षितत्वात्

No, on account of *adhrāuvya* not being *vivakṣita*.

न वैष दोषः This defect does not stand.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अध्रौव्यस्याविवक्षितत्वात् - नात्र अध्रौव्यं विवक्षितम्

On account of *adhrāuvya* not being *vivakṣita*. The state of being in motion is not here taken into account.

किं तर्हि? What then is taken to account?

ध्रौव्यम्? The state of being not in motion.

इह तावद् अश्वात् त्रस्तात् पतित इति, यत्तदश्वे अश्वत्वम् आशुगामित्वं, तद् ध्रुवं, तच्च विवक्षितम् । रथात् प्रवीतात् पतित इति, यत्तद् रथे रथत्वं - रमन्ते अस्मिन् रथ इति, तद् ध्रुवं, तच्च विवक्षितम् । सार्थाद् गच्छतो हीन इति, यत्तत् सार्थे सार्थत्वं - सहार्थीभावः - तद् ध्रुवं, तच्च विवक्षितम् ।

Firstly in the sentence *Aśvāt trastāt patitaḥ*, the *pravṛttinimitta* of *aśva*, which is *āśugāmittva* is *dhruva* and it is taken to account (and not the state of excitement on account of fear). In the sentence *Rathāt pravītāt patitaḥ*, the *pravṛttinimitta* of *ratha* which is *ramaṇādhikaraṇatva* is *dhruva* and it is taken into account (and not the state of being in motion.) In the sentence *sārthād gacchatō hīnaḥ*, the *pravṛttinimitta* of *sārtha* which is the state being together in a crowd is *dhruva*

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and it is taken into account (and not the state of moving from one place to another).

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं, ये त्वेतेऽत्यन्तं गतियुक्ताः तत्र कथं, धावतः पतितः, त्वरमाणात्पतितः इति ?

Even though it is possible to say so here, how is it possible to say so where the object is always in motion, as in *Dhāvataḥ patitaḥ* and *Tvaramāṇāt patitaḥ* ?

अत्रापि, न वाध्रौव्यस्याविवक्षितत्वाद् इत्येव सिद्धम् ?

Even here cannot we have that the object is accomplished by the *avivakṣā* of *adhrāuvya* ?

कथं पुनः सतो नाम अविवक्षा स्यात् ?

How is it possible not to take into account that which actually exists ?

सतोऽप्यविवक्षा भवति । तद्यथा - अलोमिकैडका, अनुदरा कन्या इति । असतश्च विवक्षा भवति, समुद्रः कुण्डिका, विन्ध्यो वर्द्धितकम् इति ।

There is *avivakṣā* even for that which exists, as in *Alōmikā ēḍakā* (Ram has no wool) and *Anudarā kanyā* (the girl has no stomach). Similarly there is *vivakṣā* for that which does not exist, as in *Samudraḥ kuṇḍikā* (ocean is a small pitcher) and *Vindhyō varddhitakam* (Vindhya is pyramid-shaped ball of rice).

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः (1, 4, 25)

अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम् This *sūtra* may not have been read.

कथं वृकेभ्यो बिभेति दस्युभ्यो बिभेति, चोरेभ्यस्त्रायते दस्युभ्यस्त्रायत इति ?

What will be the authority for the *apādānatva* of *vṛka*, *dasyu*, *cōra* and *dasyu* in the following sentences *vṛkēbhyō bibhēti*, *dasyubhyō bibhēti*, *cōrēbhyas trāyatē* and *dasyubhyas trāyatē* ?

इह तावद् वृकेभ्यो बिभेति दस्युभ्यो बिभेति इति, य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति - यदि मां वृकाः पश्यन्ति ध्रुवो मे मृत्युः इति । स बुद्ध्या सम्प्राप्य निवर्तते, तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम् । इह चोरेभ्यस्त्रायते दस्युभ्यस्त्रायत इति, य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी सुहृद् भवति स पश्यति - यदि इमं चोराः पश्यन्ति ध्रुवमस्य वधबन्धनादिपरिक्लेशाः इति । स बुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तयति । तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम्

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Firstly with reference to *vṛkēbhyō bibhēti* (he fears the wolf) and *dasyubhyō bibhēti* (he fears *dasyus*), a foresighted man sees that, if wolves see him, death is certain and thus having in contact with it in his mind he draws himself away from it. *Apādānatva* is secured there from the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam.* With reference to *cōrēbhyas trāyatē* (he saves him from thieves) and *dasyubhyas trāyatē* (he saves him from *dasyus*), the man of foresight sees that, if thieves see him, he is sure to meet with death, capture etc. and having thus enabled him to come in contact with them in his mind, he draws him away from them. The object is achieved there by the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :- *Sūtrārambhapakṣē tu kāraka-śēṣatvāt ṣaṣṭhyām prāptāyām idam vacanam.*

पराजेरसोढः (1, 4, 26)

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्

Even this *sūtra* may not have been read.

कथमध्ययनात् पराजयते ?

How can *apādānatva* be secured to *adhyayana* in *Adhyayanāt parājayatē.*

य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति दुःखमध्ययनं, दुर्धरं च, गुरवश्च दुरुपचारा इति, स बुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तते । तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

A man of foresight sees that it is difficult to study the *Vēdas*, to retain them and to serve the teachers to their heart's content and hence comes into association with them in his mind and draws himself away from it. The object is achieved there by the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam.*

वारणार्थानामीप्सितः (1, 1, 27)

किमुदाहरणम् ? What is the example (here) ?

माषेभ्यो गा वारयति

The word *māṣa* (bean) in the sentence *māṣēbhyō gā vārayati* (he prevents cows from eating *māṣa*).

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भवेद्यस्य माषाः न गावः, तस्य माषा ईप्सिताः स्युः; यस्य तु खलु गावो न माषाः, कथं तस्य ईप्सिताः स्युः?

Māṣa will be the object of interest to one who owns only *māṣa* and not cows. How can it be the object of interest to one who owns only cows and not *māṣa?*

तस्यापि माषा एवेप्सिताः। आतश्चेप्सिताः, यदेभ्यो गा वारयति।

Māṣa alone is the object of interest to him too. Since he prevents cows from eating it, it is certainly the object of interest to him.

इह कूपादन्धं वारयति इति, कूपे अपादानसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, न हि तस्य कूप ईप्सितः

Apādānasaṁjñā has no chance to appear in *kūpa* in the sentence *kūpād andham vārayati* since *kūpa* is not an object of interest to him.

कस्तर्हि ? Who is, then, the object of interest?

अन्धः The blind man.

तस्यापि कूप एवेप्सितः, पश्यत्ययं अन्धः कूपं मा प्रापद् इति

Kūpa (well) alone is the *īpsita* even to him, since he is careful that the blind man does not fall into the well.

अथवा यथैवास्य अन्यत्र अपश्यत ईप्सा, एवं कूपेऽपि

Or there is *īpsā* to the blind man to go to the *kūpa* as to go elsewhere.

इहाग्नेर्माणवकं वारयति, माणवके अपादानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

Apādānasaṁjñā may reach *māṇavaka* (pupil) in the sentence *Agnēr māṇavakam vārayati.*

कर्मसंज्ञात्र बाधिका भविष्यति *Karma-saṁjñā* will set it at naught.

NOTE:—Since *māṇavaka* is *īpsitatama*, *karma-saṁjñā* will set in by the *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma.*

अग्नावपि तर्हि बाधिका स्यात्

It may set at naught the *apādānasaṁjñā* even with reference to *agni.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Kārakādhikārē prakarṣō na vivakṣyatē iti atantram tamanirdēśam manyatē.*

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तस्माद्वक्तव्यं कर्मणो यदीप्सितम् इति, ईप्सितेप्सितम् इति वा

Hence either *karmaṇō yad īpsitam* or *īpsitēpsitam* is to be read in the *sūtra*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:- *Tatra karmasaṁjñā nimittam ēva apādānasaṁjñāyāḥ iti māṇavakē pravarttatē. Tataḥ tasya īpsitasya agnēḥ apādānasaṁjñā ityarthaḥ. Īpsitēpsitam iti—vārayatuḥ yad īpsitam karma tasya yad īpsitam ityarthaḥ.*

वारणार्थेषु कर्मग्रहणानर्थक्यं कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इति वचनात्

Mention of *karmaṇaḥ* with reference to *vāraṇārtha* is unnecessary, since the *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma* is read.

वारणार्थेषु कर्मग्रहणमनर्थकम्

No purpose is served by reading *karmaṇaḥ* with reference to *vāraṇārtha*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्मेति वचनात् — कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इत्येव सिद्धम्

By the *sūtra* of *Kartur īpsitatamam karma*. The object is achieved by the *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma*.

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra*, too, may not have been read.

कथं माषेभ्यो गा वारयति इति ?

What will be the authority for the usage *Māṣēbhyō gāḥ-vārayati* ?

पश्यत्ययं यदीमा गावस्तत्र गच्छन्ति ध्रुवः सस्यविनाश, सस्यविनाशेऽधर्मश्चैव, राजभयं च । स बुद्ध्या सम्प्राप्य निवर्तयति, तत्र ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

He sees that, if these cows go there, the destruction of corn is certain and consequently there will be *adharma* and royal punishment and having thus come in association with them in his mind, he drives them and hence this usage too will come within the purview of the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam*.

अन्तर्द्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति (1, 4, 28)

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra*, too, may not have been read.

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कथम् उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते इति ?

What is the sanction for the *apādānatva* of *upādhyāya* in the sentence *Upādhyāyād antardhattē.*

पश्यत्ययं यदि मामुपाध्यायः पश्यति, ध्रुवं मे प्रेषणमुपालम्भो वा इति, स बुद्धया सम्प्राप्य निवर्तते, तत्र ध्रुवमपाये अपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

He sees that, if the teacher sees him, he is certainly to be sent on errand or to be admonished and having come in association with it in his mind, he withdraws and hence it comes within the purview of the *sūtra Dhruvam apāyē apādānam.*

आख्यातोपयोगे (1, 4, 29)

उपयोग इति किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *upayōga ?*

नटस्य शृणोति, ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति

So that *apādānatva* may not appear to *naṭa* and *granthika* in the sentences *Naṭasya śṛṇōti* and *Granthikasya śṛṇōti.*

उपयोग इत्युच्यमानेऽप्यत्र प्राप्नोति । एषोऽपि ह्युपयोगः । आतश्चोपयोगो यदारम्भका रङ्गं गच्छन्ति नटस्य श्रोष्यामः ग्रन्थिकस्य श्रोष्यामः इति ।

Even if *upayōga* is read, *apādānatva* may set in here (in *naṭa* and *granthika*). Even this is *upayōga*. Since the beginners go to the place of learning saying *Naṭasya śrōṣyāmaḥ* (we shall listen to the *naṭa*), *Granthikasya śrōṣyāmaḥ* (we shall listen to the atrologer), it is *upayōga*

एवं तर्हि उपयोग इत्युच्यते, सर्वश्चोपयोगः, तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते साधीयो य उपयोगः इति

If so, *upayōga* is read and all are *upayōgas*. Hence it is taken to mean *prakṛṣṭōpayōga*.

कश्च साधीयः ? Which is superior *upayōga ?*

यः ग्रन्थार्थयोः

That which is used to learn both the text and the sense.

अथ चोपयोगः को भवितुमर्हति ?

Or which deserves to be the connotation of *upayōga ?*

यो नियमपूर्वकः । तद्यथा, उपयुक्ता माणवका इत्युच्यन्ते, य एते नियमपूर्वकमधीतवन्तो भवन्ति

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That which is accompanied with *niyama*. For the pupils who study with *niyama* are stated as *upayuktā māṇavakāḥ*.

किं पुनराख्याता अनुपयोगे कारकम्, आहोस्विद् अकारकम्?

If there is no *niyamapūrvakādhyayana*, is *ākhyāta kāraka* or not?

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

आख्यातानुपयोगे कारकमिति चेद् अकथितत्वात् कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

If it is said that *ākhyāta* is *kāraka* in *anupayōga*, there is chance for *karmasajmñā*, since it is *akathita*.

आख्यातानुपयोगे कारकमिति चेद् अकथितत्वात् कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that *ākhyāta* is *kāraka* in *anupayōga* there is chance for *karmasaṁjñā*, since it is *akathita*.

अस्तु तर्हि अकारकम् If so, let it be *akāraka*.

अकारकमिति चेदुपयोगवचनानर्थक्यम्

If it is *akāraka*, the use of the word *upayōga* serves no purpose.

यद्यकारकम्, उपयोगवचनमनर्थकम्

If it is *akāraka*, the use of the word *upayōga* serves no purpose.

अस्तु तर्हि कारकम् If so, let it be *kāraka*.

ननु चोक्तम् - आख्यातानुपयोगे कारकमिति चेदकथितत्वात् कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्ग इति

Oh, it was said that, if it is said that *ākhyātā* is *kāraka* in *anupayōga*, there is chance for *karmasaṁjñā*, since it is *akathita*.

नैष दोषः, परिगणनं तत्र क्रियते - दुहियाचिरुधिप्रच्छिभिक्षिचिञाम् इति ।

This defect does not arise, since *parigaṇana* is made thus:- *Duhi-yāci-rudhi-pracchi-bhikṣi-ciñām*.

अयमपि योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra* too may not have been read.

कथमुपाध्यायादधीत इति?

What will be the authority for the *apādānatva* of *upādhyāya* in the sentence *Upādhyāyād adhītē?*

अपक्रामति तस्मादध्ययनम् Words of instruction get out of him.

यद्यपक्रामति, किं नात्यन्तायापक्रामति?

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If they get out of him, why do they not get out of him completely ?

सन्ततत्वात्

On account of the ideas coming out of him in quick succession in the form of sounds.

अथ वा ज्योतिर्वज्ज्ञानानि भवन्ति

Or the ideas are like the rays emanating from a luminous body.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः (1, 4, 30)

अयमपि योगः शक्यतेऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra* too may not have been read.

कथं गोमयाद् वृश्चिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्त इति ?

What is the authority of *apādānatva* of *gōmaya* and *gōlōmāvilōma* in the sentences *gōmayād vṛścikō jāyatē* (scorpion springs from cow-dung) and *gōlōmāvilōmabhyō dūrvā jāyantē* (panic grass is produced from the hair of cows and wool of sheep).

अपक्रामन्ति तास्तेभ्यः They come out from them.

यद्यपक्रामन्ति किं नात्यन्तायापक्रामन्ति

If they come out, who do they not come out all at once ?

सन्ततत्वात् Since they are coming out in quick succession.

अथ वा अन्याश्च अन्याश्च प्रादुर्भवन्ति

Or they come out in different forms.

भुवः प्रभवः (1, 4, 31)

अयमपि योगः शक्यतेऽवक्तुम्

This *sūtra*, too, may not have been read.

कथं हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवतीति ?

What will be the authority for the *apādānatva* of *Himavān* in the sentence *Himavatō Gaṅgā prabhavati* ?

अपक्रामन्ति तास्तस्मादापः The waters get out of it.

यद्यपक्रामन्ति किं नात्यन्तायापक्रामन्ति ?

If they come out of it, why do they not come out all at once ?

सन्ततत्वात् Since they come in quick succession.

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अथ वा अन्याश्च अन्याश्च प्रादुर्भवन्ति

Or they come out in different forms.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् (1, 4, 32)

Five topics are dealt with here :- The *prayōjana* of the word *karmaṇā*, of the pronouns *yam* and *saḥ* and of the two prepositions *abhi* and *pra* form the first three. (4) The need or otherwise of adding the word *kriyā* in the *sūtra*. (5) The need of the *vārttika Karmaṇaḥ karaṇasaṁjñā sampradānasya ca karmasaṁjñā*.

I

कर्मग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *karmaṇā* ?

यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने कर्मण एव सम्प्रदानसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत; कर्मग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति, कर्म निमित्तत्वेनाश्रीयते ।

If the *sūtra* is read *Yam abhiprāiti sa sampradānam* without the word *karmaṇā*, *karma* will chance to take *sampradānasaṁjñā* ; but, on the other hand, if the word *karmaṇā* is read, there will be no difficulty and *karma* will be taken as the *nimitta* for *sampradānatva*.

II

अथ यंसग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for are the pronouns *yam* and *saḥ* read?

कर्मणाभिप्रैति सम्प्रदानम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने आभिप्रयत एव सम्प्रदानसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत; यंसग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति, यंसग्रहणाद् अभिप्रयतः संप्रदानसंज्ञा निर्भज्ययेे ।

If the *sūtra* is read *Karmaṇā abhiprāiti sampradānam*, *sampradānasaṁjñā* will chance to go to *kartā* ; but, on the other hand, if *yam* and *saḥ* are read, there will be no difficulty and the *sampradānasaṁjñā* for *kartā* will be broken.

III

अभिप्रग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What is the purpose served by the prepositions *abhi* and *pra* ?

कर्मणा यमेति स सम्प्रदानम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने यमेव संप्रति एति तत्रैव स्याद् उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति इति, इह न स्याद् उपाध्यायाय गामदात्, उपाध्यायाय

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गां दास्यति इति; अभिप्रग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति, अभिराभिमुख्ये वर्तते, प्रशब्द आदिकर्मणि । तेन यं चाभिप्रैति, यं च अभिप्रैष्यति, यं च अभिप्रागात् आभिमुख्यमात्रे सर्वत्र सिद्धं भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read *Karmaṇā yam ēti sa sampradānam* without *abhi* and *pra*, *sampradānasaṁjñā* will happen to him whom he now gives, as in *Upādhyāyāya gām dadāti* and will not happen to him whom he gave or will give, as in *Upādhyāyāya gām adāt* and *Upādhyāyāya gām dāsyati.* If *abhi* and *pra* are read, there will be no difficulty; *abhi* connotes *ābhimukhya* and *pra*, *āditva.* Hence *sampradānatva* is achieved to him whom he directly gives, whom he will directly give and whom he directly gave.

IV

क्रियाग्रहणम् Reading the word *kriyā* in the *sūtra.*

क्रियाग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात्, श्राद्धाय विगर्हते, युद्धाय सन्नह्यते, पत्ये शेते इति

The word *kriyā*, too, should be read in the *sūtra* so that *sampradānatva* may resort to *śrāddha*, *yuddha* and *pati* in the sentences *śrāddhāya nigarhatē* (he ridicules over *śrāddha*), *yuddhāya sannahyatē* (he armours himself for battle) and *patyē śētē* (she sleeps near her husband).

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must, then, be read.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not.

कथम्? How will its purpose be served?

क्रियां हि नाम लोके कर्मेत्युपचरन्ति - कां क्रियां करिष्यसि - किं कर्म करिष्यसि इति

For people in the world use the word *karma* to denote secondarily *kriyā*, as in the sentence *kiṁ karma kariṣyasi* in the sense of what *kriyā* are you doing.

एवमपि कर्तव्यम् - कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे संप्रत्ययो भवति ।

Even then it should be read, since, of *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima*, only *kṛtrima* should be taken into account.

क्रियापि कृत्रिमं कर्म Even *kriyā* is *kṛtrima-karma.*

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न सिध्यति । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इत्युच्यते, कथं च नाम क्रियया क्रियेप्सिततमा स्यात्?

No, it cannot be. The *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma* is read. How can *kriyā* become *īpsitatamā* through *kriyā*?

क्रियापि क्रियया ईप्सिततमा भवति

Even *kriyā* becomes *īpsitatamā* through *kriyā*.

कया क्रियया? By which *kriyā*?

सन्दर्शनक्रियया, प्रार्थयतिक्रियया अध्यवस्यतिक्रियया च । इह य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स बुद्ध्या तावत् कश्चिद् अर्थं सम्पश्यति, सन्दृष्टे प्रार्थना, प्रार्थनायामध्यवसायः, अध्यवसाय आरम्भः, आरम्भे निर्वृत्तिः, निर्वृत्तौ फलावाप्तिः । एवं क्रियापि कृत्रिमं कर्म ।

By the *kriyā* of seeing, by the *kriyā* of wishing and by the *kriyā* of determining. A man of foresight, here, clearly sees the whole through his mind's eye; after comprehension, there is wish; after wish there is determination; after determination there is attempt; through attempt there is the finishing touch; thro' the finishing touch, there is the reach of the fruit. Hence *kriyā* too is *kṛtrima-karma*.

एवमपि - Even then,

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा

There is need to give *karaṇasaṁjñā* to *karma* and *karma-saṁjñā* to *sampradāna*.

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा - पशुना रुद्रं यजते, पशुं रुद्राय ददाति इत्यर्थः । अग्नौ किल पशुः प्रक्षिप्यते तद्रुद्रायोपह्रियत इति ।

Karaṇasaṁjñā has to be given to *karma* and *karma-saṁjñā* to *sampradāna*. Viz., *Paśunā Rudram yajatē*. It means he gives *paśu* to *Rudra*. *Paśu* is thrown in fire and it is taken as an offering to *Rudra*.

NOTE:—It is only the *vapā* and the different organs that are thrown into fire and hence *paśu* here refers to its parts.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः (1, 4, 37)

किमेते एकार्थाः आहोस्विन्नानार्थाः?

Do these have the same meaning or different meanings?

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किं चातः? What is gained whether it is this or that?

यद्येकार्थाः किमर्थं पृथङ् निर्दिश्यते? अथ नानार्थाः, कथं क्रुपिना शक्यन्ते विशेषयितुम्?

If they are synonyms, why should they be read separately? If they have different meanings, how should each be qualified by *kup?*

एवं तर्हि नानार्थाः, कुपौ त्वेषां सामान्यमस्ति। न हि अकुपितः क्रुध्यति न वा अकुपितो द्रुह्यति, न वा अकुपित ईर्ष्यति, न वा अकुपितो असूयति।

If so, they have different meanings; but each of them springs from anger. For one without anger does not feel irritated; one without anger does not feel treacherous; one without anger does not feel jealous; and one without anger does not belittle others.

साधकतमं करणम् (1, 4, 42)

तमग्रहणं किमर्थं? न साधकं करणम् इत्येवोच्येत?

What for is *tama* read? Why is not the *sūtra* read *Sādhakam karaṇam?*

साधकं करणम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने सर्वेषामेव कारकाणां करणसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत। सर्वाणि हि कारकाणि साधकानि। तमग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति।

If the *sūtra* is read *Sādhakam karaṇam* without *tama-pratyaya*, *karaṇa-saṁjñā* may chance to take hold of all *kārakas*; for all *kārakas* are *sādhakas*. If *tama-pratyaya* is read, there will be no defect.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्। पूर्वास्तावत् अपवादत्वाद् बाधिका भविष्यन्ति, पराः परत्वाद् अनवकाशत्वाच्च

This is not the *prayōjana.* Those that precede set this at naught by being *apavāda* and those that follow set this at naught by being *utkṛṣṭa* (i. e.) *anavakāśa.*

इह तर्हि धनुषा विध्यति, अपाययुक्तत्वाच्च अपादानसंज्ञा, साधकत्वाच्च करण-संज्ञा प्राप्नोति। तमग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति।

Here, then, in *dhanuṣā vidhyati*, there is chance for *apādāna-saṁjñā* to *dhanus* on account of the existence of *apāya* and

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karaṇasaṁjñā on account of its being *sādhaka*. This defect will be removed, if *tama-pratyaya* is read.

एवं तर्हि लोकत एतत् सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके 'अभिरूपाय उदकमानेयम्', 'अभिरूपाय कन्या देया' इति, न च अनभिरूपे प्रवृत्तिरस्ति, तत्र अभिरूपतमाय इति गम्यते । एवमिहापि साधकं करणम् इत्युच्यते । सर्वाणि च कारकाणि साधकानि, न च असाधके प्रवृत्तिरस्ति, तत्र साधकतमम् इति विज्ञास्यते ।

If so, this is so decided from what is found in the world. For instance it is said in the world, "Let water be brought to wash the feet of *abhirūpa* (the deserving bridegroom)", "Let the *kanyā* be given in marriage to the *abhirūpa*." Nobody thinks of the undeserving bridegroom and hence *abhirūpāya* evidently means to the *most* deserving. So also here it is said, '*Sādhakē karaṇam.*' All *kārakas* are *sādhakas* and nobody thinks of *asādhakas* and hence *sādhaka* is taken to refer only to *sādhakatama*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्तमग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः कारकसंज्ञायां तरतमयोगो न भवति इति

If so, *Ācārya* reads *tama-pratyaya* even though its purpose is otherwise served. Hence he suggests that there is no *tara-tama-yōga* (choice of the better of the two or the best of many) with reference to *kāraka-saṁjñā*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

[1] अपायमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते ?

Which does *Ācārya* think to be the legitimate *apādana*?

यत्र सम्प्राप्य निवृत्तिः

Where there is separation after association.

तेनेहैव स्यात् ग्रामाद् आगच्छति, नगराद् आगच्छति इति । साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

If so, it will operate only here in – *Grāmād āgacchati*, and *Nagarād āgacchati* and not in *Sāṅkāśyakēbhyaḥ Pāṭaliputrakā abhirūpatarāḥ*.

1. अपादानम् is another reading.

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कारकसंज्ञायां तरतमयोगो न भवति इत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति

It is secured even here by the dictum *Kārakasaṁjñāyām taratamayōgō na bhavati.*

तथा आधारमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते ?

Which does *Ācārya* think, in the same way, to be the legitimate *ādhāra* ?

यत्र कृत्स्न आधारात्मा व्याप्तो भवति

Where *ādhāratva* pervades the whole space occupied by *ādhēyatva.*

तेन इहैव स्यात् - तिलेषु तैलम्, दध्नि सर्पिः इति । गङ्गायां गावः, कूपे गर्गकुलम् इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

If so, it will operate only here in *Tilēṣu tāilam* and *Dadhni sarpiḥ* and not in *Gaṅgāyām gāvaḥ* and *Kūpē gargakulam.*

कारकसंज्ञायां तरतमयोगो न भवति इति अत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।

It is secured even here by the dictum *Kārakasaṁjñāyām tara-tama-yōgō na bhavati.*

उपान्वध्याङ्वसः (1, 4, 48)

वसेरश्यर्थस्य प्रतिषेधः Need to prohibit *vas* in the sense of fasting.

वसेरश्यर्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, ग्रामे उपवसति इति ।

There is need to prohibit *karmasaṁjñā* with reference to *vas* in the sense of *to fast,* so that there can be only this usage *Grāmē upavasati.*

स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It must, then, be read.

न वक्तव्यः । नात्र उपपूर्वस्य वसेर्ग्रामोऽधिकरणम्

No, it need not be read. *Grāma* is not the *adhikaraṇa* with reference to *vas* with *upa.*

कस्य तर्हि ? To which then ?

अनुपसर्गस्य । ग्रामे असौ वसंस्त्रिरात्रमुपवसति ।

Grāma is *adhikaraṇa* only to *vas* preceded by no preposition, as in *Grāmē asāu vasan trirātram upavasati* (he living in the village fasts three days).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the relationship of *kāla* and *upavasana* is *antaraṅga* and that of *grāma* and *upavasana* is *bahiraṅga.*

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कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म (1, 4, 49)

तमग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is *tama* read ?

कर्तुरीप्सितं कर्म इतीयत्युच्यमाने इह अग्नेर्माणवकं वारयति इति माणवकेऽपादानसंज्ञा प्रसज्येत

If the *sūtra* is read *Kartur īpsitam karma* without *tama*, there is chance for *apādānatva* in *māṇavaka* in the sentence *Agnēr māṇavakaṁ vārayati* (by the *sūtra Vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ*).

नैष दोषः । कर्मसंज्ञात्र बाधिका भविष्यति

This defect does not arise ; *karmasaṁjñā* (by this *sūtra* which is *para*) sets it at naught.

अग्नावपि तर्हि बाधिका स्यात्

If so, it may set at naught the *apādānatva* in *agni* too.

इह पुनस्तमग्रहणे क्रियमाणे तदुपपन्नं भवति यदुक्तं वारणार्थेषु कर्मग्रहणानर्थक्यं कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्मेति वचनाद् इति

If *tama* is read here, the *vārttika Vāraṇārthēṣu karmagrahaṇānarthakyam kartur īpsitatamam karmēti vacanāt* will be appropriate.

इहोच्यते - ओदनं पचति इति, यद्योदनः पच्येत द्रव्यान्तरम् अभिनिर्वर्तेत

The expression *Ōdanam pacati* is current in the world and the *śāstra*. If *ōdana* is cooked, it should transform itself into another.

NOTE :—Since the word *ōdana* refers to cooked food, the *pūrvapakṣin* thinks that the expression *ōdanam pacati* is incorrect.

नैष दोषः । तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छाब्द्यं भविष्यति ओदनार्थास्तण्डुला ओदन इति

This difficulty cannot stand. The word *ōdana* refers to rice which is intended to become *ōdana*, the word denoting effect being used to denote the cause.

अथ इह कथं भवितव्यम् - तण्डुलानोदनं पचति इति आहोस्वित् तण्डुलानामोदनं पचति इति ?

Of the following two usages here :—*Taṇḍulān ōdanam pacati* (he cooks rice into food) and *Taṇḍulānām ōdanam pacati* (he cooks the food of rice), which is correct ?

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उभयथापि भवितव्यम् Usage may be both ways.

कथम्? How?

इह हि तण्डुलानोदनं पचति इति, द्व्यर्थः पचिः, तण्डुलान् पचन्नोदनं निर्वर्तयति । इह इदानीं तण्डुलानामोदनं पचति इति द्व्यर्थश्चैव पचिर्विकारयोगे षष्ठी, तण्डुलविकारमोदनं निर्वर्तयति ।

Here in the sentence *Taṇḍulān ōdanam pacati*, of the two parts of the meaning of *pac*, *viklēdana* (transforming into soft material) and *nirvartana* (obtaining the food), the former takes *taṇḍula* for its object and the latter *ōdana* for its object, so that the sentence means *taṇḍulān pacan ōdanam nirvartayati* Here, then, in the sentence *Taṇḍulānām ōdanam pacati*, of the two parts *viklēdana* and *nirvartana* the former becomes the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ōdana* and *ōdana* becomes the object of *nirvartana*, so that the sentence means *taṇḍulavikāram ōdanam nirvartayati.*

इह कश्चित् कञ्चिद् आमन्त्रयते सिद्धं भुज्यताम् इति । स आमन्त्र्यमाण आह प्रभूतं भुक्तमस्माभिः इति ।

One says, here to another, "Please take food." He replies, "I have already taken plenty."

आमन्त्र्यमाण आह दधि - खलु भविष्यति, पयः खलु भविष्यति

The former again says, "There will be curds too and there will be milk too."

आमन्त्र्यमाण आह - दध्ना खलु भुञ्जीय पयसा खलु भुञ्जीय इति

The latter says, "I shall certainly take the food with curds; I shall certainly take the food with milk."

अत्र कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, तद्धि तस्येप्सिततमं भवति

Here - in *dadhi* and *payas* - there is chance for *karmasaṁjñā*, since each of them is *īpsitatama*.

तस्याप्योदन एवेप्सिततमो न तु गुणेष्वस्यानुरोधः, तद्यथा भुञ्जीयाहमोदनं यदि मृदुर्विशदः स्याद् इति । एवमिहापि दधिगुणमोदनं भुञ्जीय, पयोगुणमोदनं भुञ्जीय इति ।

Even to him it is *ōdana* that is *īpsitatama*, since he has no *ādara* in the accessories alone, as in the statement *Bhuñjīya*

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aham ōdanam yadi mṛdur viśadaḥ syāt (I shall eat the food if it is soft and fresh). So also it means here *dadhiguṇam ōdanam bhuñjīya* (I shall eat food mixed with curds) and *payōguṇam ōdanam bhuñjīya* (I shall eat food mixed with milk.)

ईप्सितस्य कर्मसंज्ञायां निर्वृत्तस्य कारकत्वे कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्गः क्रियेप्सितत्वात्

If *īpsita* gets *karmasaṁjñā*, there is no chance for the object of an action to get it on account of the action being *īpsita.*

ईप्सितस्य कर्मसंज्ञायां निर्वृत्तस्य कारकत्वे कर्मसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, गुडं भक्षयति

If *īpsita* gets *karma-saṁjñā*, the object of an action does not get it, as *guḍa* in *Guḍam bhakṣayati.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

क्रियेप्सितत्वात्; क्रिया तस्य ईप्सिता

Since the *kriyā* is the *īpsita.* It is the *kriyā* that is his *īpsita.*

न वोभयेप्सितत्वात् No, on account of both being *īpsita.*

न वैष दोषः This defect cannot arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

उभयेप्सितत्वात् । उभयं हि तस्येप्सितम् । आतश्चोभयं यस्य हि गुडभक्षणे बुद्धिः प्रसक्ता भवति नासौ लोष्टं भक्षयित्वा कृती भवति

On account of both being *īpsita.* For both are his *īpsita.* Since he who thinks of swallowing jaggery is not satisfied if he swallows a piece of stone, both are his *īpsita.*

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं, ये त्वेते राजकर्मिणो मनुष्यास्तेषां कश्चित् कञ्चिदाह कटं कुरु इति । स आह नाहं कटं करिष्यामि, घटो मया आहृत इति; तस्य क्रियामात्रमीप्सितम् ।

Even though it may thus be answered here, the *kriyā* alone is the *īpsita* to him, who, among the servants of the king, answers "I will not make a mat; pot has been brought by me" to the request "Make a mat" made by another servant of the king.

यद्यपि तस्य क्रियामात्रमीप्सितं, यस्त्वसौ प्रेषयति तस्योभयमीप्सितम् इति

Even though *kriyā* alone is *īpsita* to him, both are *īpsita* to him who sends him to fetch it.

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तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् (1, 4, 50)

किमुदाहरणम् ? What is the example ?

विषं भक्षयति इति *Viṣam* in the sentence *Viṣam bhakṣayati*.

नैतदस्ति ; पूर्वेणाप्येतत् सिध्यति

No, it is not ; it can be secured even from the previous *sūtra*.

न सिध्यति । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इत्युच्यते, कस्य च नाम विषभक्षणमीप्सितम् स्यात् ?

No, it cannot be secured. The previous *sūtra* reads *Kartur īpsitatamam karma*. To whom will the taking of poison be *īpsita* ?

विषभक्षणमपि कस्यचिदीप्सितं भवति

Even *viṣa-bhakṣaṇa* becomes *īpsita* to some one.

कथम् ? How ?

इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखार्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखानि अनुनिशम्य विषभक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते । आतश्च ईप्सितं यत्तद् भक्षयति ।

A man here who suffers from misery, arguing within himself the relative strength of other miseries feels that it is better to take poison. Hence whatever he eats is *īpsita*.

यत्तर्हि अन्यत् करिष्यामीति अन्यत् करोति, तदुदाहरणम्

If so, that becomes the *udāharaṇa* which one does even though he wanted to do another.

किं पुनस्तत् ? What is it ?

ग्रामान्तरमयं गच्छन् चोरान् पश्यति, अहिं लङ्घयति, कण्टकान् मृद्नाति इति

One who goes to another village sees thieves, transgresses serpents, walks over thorns etc.

इह ईप्सितस्यापि कर्मसंज्ञा आरभ्यते अनीप्सितस्यापि । यदिदानीं नैवेप्सितं नाप्यनीप्सितं तत्र कथं भवितव्यं - ग्रामान्तरमयं गच्छन् वृक्षमूलान्युपसर्पति कुड्यमूलान्युपसर्पति इति

Karma-saṁjñā is, here, enjoined to the *īpsita* and to the *an-īpsita*. What should be the lot of one which is neither *īpsita* nor *an-īpsita*, as *vṛkṣamūla* and *kuḍyamūla* in the

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sentence *Grāmāntaram ayam gacchan vṛkṣamūlāni upasarpati* and *kuḍyamūlāni upasarpati.*

अत्रापि सिद्धम् It is secured even here.

कथम्? How?

अनीप्सितम् इति नायं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः ईप्सितं न इति

The word *an-īpsitam* is not *prasajya-pratiṣēdha* in the sense *īpsitam na.*

किं तर्हि? What then?

पर्युदासोऽयं यदन्यद् ईप्सितात् तद् अनीप्सितम् इति । अन्यच्च एतद् ईप्सिताद् यन्नैवेप्सितं नाप्यनीप्सितम् इति ।

This is *paryudāsa* and hence it means that which is other than *īpsita*. That which is neither *īpsita* nor *an-īpsita* is one other than *īpsita.*

अकथितं च (1, 4, 51)

[1] Ten *ślōkavārttikas* are discussed here. They deal with five topics:- (1) Enumeration of roots with reference to which *akathita* takes *karma-saṁjñā* (2) Do *lakārārtha, kṛtyārtha* etc. have reference to *kathita* or *akathita?* (3) Which roots are *dvikarmakas?* (4) Which take *karma-saṁjñā* with reference to *akarmakadhātus?* (5) Are the preceding two *sūtras* necessary or not?

I

केन अकथितम्? By which is it *avivakṣita*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:- *Kartari kuraṇē vā atra tṛtīyā. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* supplements it thus:-*Karaṇasyāpi kartṛtvēna vivakṣām abhiprētya āha kartarīti.*

अपादानादिभिर्विशेषकथाभिः

By the special *kārakas* like *apādāna* which have been mentioned.

किमुदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa*?

1. All of them are published as *vārttikas* in Guruprasada Sastri's edition. But five or six found in the middle are published as *vārttikas* and the rest as *bhāṣya* in Panduranga Javaji's edition.

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दुहियाचिरुधिप्रच्छिभिक्षिचिञामुपयोगनिमित्तमपूर्वविधौ ।
ब्रुविशासिगुणेन च यत्सचते तदकीर्तितमाचरितं कविना ॥

The *nimitta* of the *phala*, when they do not take the special *kāraka* by the previous *sūtras*, with reference to the roots *duh*, *yāc*, *rudh*, *pracch*, *bhikṣ* and *ci* and that which is associated with the *pradhāna-karma* of *brū* and *śās* are considered to be *akathitas* by the seer (*Ācārya Pāṇini*).

NOTE:—The word *kavi* is used here in the sense found in the *Vēdas*. Cf. *Kavikratuḥ* in the first *sūkta* of the *Ṛgvēda-saṁhitā*.

दुहि - गां दोग्धि पयः

The word *gām* in the sentence *Gām dōgdhi payaḥ* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथिताऽत्र पूर्वा अपादानसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *apādānasaṁjñā*, which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here:—*Payō-niṣṭha-vibhāgaja-saṁyōgānukūla - vyāpārasyāiva dhātvarthatvē idam bhāṣyam tattvam. Evam agrēspi. Evam-rūpē arthē apādānatva-avivakṣābhiprāyēṇa siddhāntinā udāharaṇa-dānam, tad ajānataḥ pūrvapakṣiṇaḥ khaṇḍanam ityēva sāram.*

याचि - इदं तर्हि पौरवं गां याचते

If so, this – the word *pāuravam* in *Pāuravam gām yācatē* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथितात्र पूर्वा अपादानसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *āpādānasaṁjñā*, which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

न याचनादेव अपायो भवति । याचितोऽसौ यदि ददाति ततोऽपायेन युज्यते ।

Separation does not take place merely from *yācana*; only if one who is begged gives, there is separation.

रुधि - अन्ववरुणद्धि गां व्रजम्

The word *vrajam* in *Anvavaruṇaddhi gām vrajam* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथितात्र पूर्वा अधिकरणसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *adhikaraṇasaṁjñā* which precedes has been enjoined to it.

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प्रच्छि - माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति

The word *māṇavakam* in *Māṇavakam panthānam pṛcchati* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथितात्र पूर्वा अपादानसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *apādānasaṁjñā,* which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

न प्रश्नादेव अपायो भवति, पृष्टोऽसौ यद्याचष्टे ततोऽपायेन युज्यते ।

Separation does not spring only from the question; only when one who is questioned answers, he is associated with *apāya*.

भिक्षि - पौरवं गां भिक्षते

The word *pāuravam* in *Pāuravam gām bhikṣatē* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथितात्र पूर्वा अपादानसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *apādānasaṁjñā,* which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Atha yāci-bhikṣyōr ēkārtha-tvāt kimartham ubhayōr upādānam? Ucyatē–anunayārthasyāpi yācēr grahaṇārtham.*

न भिक्षणादेव अपायो भवति, भिक्षितोऽसौ यदि ददाति ततोऽपायेन युज्यते

Separation does not take place only from *bhikṣaṇa*; only when the person begged gives, he is associated with *apāya.*

चिञ् - वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि

The word *vṛkṣam* in the sentence *Vṛkṣam avacinōti phalāni* is an example.

नैतदस्ति । कथिता अत्र पूर्वा अपादानसंज्ञा

No, this is not; the *apādānasaṁjñā,* which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

ब्रुविशासि –[1]

ब्रुविशासिगुणेन च यत्सचते - सम्बध्यते - तच्चोदाहरणम्

That which is associated with the *pradhāna-karma* of *brū* and *śās* is an example.

1. The whole line is printed in all editions. Since it is only a *pratīka bruvi-śāsi* alone is mentioned here.

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कि पुनस्तत्? What is it?

पुत्रं ब्रूते धर्मं, पुत्रमनुशास्ति धर्मम् इति

Putra in the sentences *Putram brūtē dharmam*, and *Putram anuśāsti dharmam*.

नैतदस्ति । कथितात्र पूर्वा सम्प्रदानसंज्ञा

No, it is not. *Sampradāna-saṁjñā*, which precedes, has been enjoined to it.

तस्मात् त्रीण्येव उदाहरणानि - पौरवं गां याचते, माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, पौरवं गां भिक्षते इति

Hence only three—*pāuravam, māṇavakam* and *pāuravam* in the sentences *Pāuravam gām yācatē, Māṇavakam panthānam pṛcchati* and *Pāuravam gām bhikṣatē* serve as examples.

II

अथ ये धातूनां द्विकर्मकाः, तेषां किं कथिते लादयो भवन्ति आहोस्विद् अकथिते

Are *lādis* used with *kathita* or *akathita* with reference to the roots which are *dvikarmakas*?

NOTE :—1. *Lādis* are *la-kṛtya-kta-khalarthāḥ*.

NOTE :—2. *Kathitaḥ* means *pradhānaḥ* (*īpsitatamaḥ*).

कथिते लादयः *Lādis* are used with *kathita*.

कथिते लादिभिरभिहिते गुणकर्मणि का कर्तव्या?

If *kathita* is *abhihita* by *lādis*, what *kāraka* should be used with *apradhāna-karma* (i.e.) if the nominative case is used with the *pradhāna-karma* in the passive voice, what case should be used with the *apradhāna-karma*?

कथिते लादयश्चेत्स्युः षष्ठीं कुर्यात्तदा गुणे

If *lādis* are used with *kathita*, sixth case should be used with the *apradhāna-karma*.

कथिते लादयश्चेत् स्युः षष्ठी गुणकर्मणि तदा कर्तव्या दुह्यते गोः पयः, याच्यते पौरवस्य कम्बल इति

If *lādis* are used with *kathita*, sixth case should be used with *apradhāna-karma*. Viz., *Duhyatē gōḥ payaḥ* ; *yācyatē pāuravasya kambalaḥ*.

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कथम् ? Why?

अकारकं ह्यकथितात्, कारकं चेत्तु नाकथा

It is *akāraka* on account of *akathitatva* and if it is *kāraka*, it cannot be *akathita*.

अकारकं ह्येतद् भवति This is *akāraka*.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

अकथितत्वात् On account of its being *akathita*.

अथ कारकं नाकथितम् If it is *kāraka*, it is not *akathita*.

अथ कारके सति का कर्तव्या ?

If it is *kāraka*, what should be done?

कारकं चेद्विजानीयाद्यां यां मन्येत सा भवेत्

If it is taken as a *kāraka*, that which is considered suitable may be used.

कारकं चेद् विजानीयाद् या या प्राप्नोति सा सा कर्तव्या । दुह्यते गोः पयः, याच्यते पौरवात् कम्बलः इति

If it is taken as a *kāraka*, whatever is found suitable may be used. Viz. *Duhyatē gōḥ payaḥ*; *yācyatē pāuravāt kambalaḥ*.

कथितेऽभिहिते त्वविधिस्त्वमतिर्गुणकर्मणि लादिविधिः सपरे

Your opinion stands when *kathita* is *abhihita*; but, in the opinion of others, there is *lādividhi* in the *apradhānakarma* and also with reference to those found in the following two *sūtras*.

कथिते लादिभिरभिहिते त्वविधिरेष भवति

When *prādhāna-karma* is suggested by *lādis*, your opinion stands.

किमिदं त्वविधिः ? What does *tva-vidhi* mean?

तव विधिः त्वविधिः *Tva-vidhiḥ* means *tava vidhiḥ*.

NOTE:—The derivation of *tva-vidhiḥ* is evidently *tvasya vidhiḥ* where *tva* means *some one* as in the *Ṛk Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam* mentioned in *Paspaśāhnika*. But here it refers to the *pūrvapakṣin* in a light way.

त्वमतिः Your considered opinion.

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किमिदं त्वमतिरिति ? What is mean by *tva-matiḥ* ?

तव मतिस्त्वमतिरिति *Tvamatiḥ* means *tava matiḥ*.

नैवमन्ये मन्यन्ते Others do not consider so.

कथं तर्ह्यन्ये मन्यन्ते ? How do then others consider ?

गुणकर्मणि लादिविधिः सपरे - गुणकर्मणि लादिविधयो[1] भवन्ति सह परेण योगेन - गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि स णौ
Lādividhi is with reference to *guṇakarma* here along with those mentioned in the following *sūtra Gati-buddhi-pratyavā-sānārtha-śabdakarma-akarmakāṇām aṇi kartā sa ṇāu.*

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *saparē* refers to both the *sūtras Gatibuddhi*...and *Hṛkrōr*...

ध्रुवचेष्टितयुक्तिषु चाप्यगुणे तदनल्पमतेर्वचनं स्मरत
Remember the words of the man of great wisdom that *lādis* occur to *pradhānakarma* with reference to *akarmakas* and *gatyarthas.*

ध्रुवयुक्तिषु चेष्टितयुक्तिषु चाप्यगुणे कर्मणि लादयो भवन्तीत्येतदनल्पमतेराचार्यस्य वचनं स्मर्यताम्
Let the words of the *Ācārya* of great wisdom be remembered that *lādis* occur to *aguṇa-karma* with reference to *akarmakas* and *gatyarthas.*

अपर आह Another says.

प्रधानकर्मण्याख्येये लादीनाहुर्द्विकर्मणाम्
Lādis occur to *pradhāna-karma* with reference to roots taking two objects.

प्रधानकर्मण्यभिधेये द्विकर्मणां धातूनां कर्मणि लादयो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् - अजां नयति ग्रामम्, अजा नीयते ग्रामम्, अजा नीता ग्रामम् इति
It must be said that *lādis* occur to the *pradhāna-karma* with reference to roots taking two objects. *Viz., Ajām nayati grāmam, ajā nīyatē grāmam, ajā nītā grāmam.*

अप्रधाने दुहादीनां, ण्यन्ते कर्तुश्च कर्मणः

1, लादयः is another reading.

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Lādis occur to *apradhāna* with reference to *duhādis* and to *pradhāna* in *ṇyanta*.

अप्रधाने दुहादीनां कर्मणि लादयो भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् - दुह्यते गौः पयः इति । ण्यन्ते कर्तुश्च कर्मणो लादयो भवन्ति इति वक्तव्यम् - गम्यते यज्ञदत्तो ग्रामं देवदत्तेन ।

It must be stated that *lādis* occur to *apradhāna-karma* with reference to *duhādis*. Viz., *Duhyatē gāuḥ payaḥ*, *Dugdhā gāuḥ payaḥ*. It must be stated that *lādis* occur to *pradhāna-karma* with reference to causal roots. Viz, *Gamyatē yajña-dattō grāmam Dēvadattēna*.

III

के पुनर्धातूनां द्विकर्मकाः ?

Which, among roots, take two objects after them ?

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here :- *Idam vyāpāradvayār-thakadhāthūpalakṣaṇam*.

नीवह्योर्हरतेश्चापि गत्यर्थानां तथैव च ।
द्विकर्मकेषु ग्रहणम् द्रष्टव्यमिति निश्चयः ॥

It is the decided opinion that, among *dvikarmakas*, the roots *nī*, *vah*, *hṛ*, and *gatyarthas* should be taken.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Cakārēṇa jayatyādayaḥ sa-mucciyantē* (the roots *jī*, *muṣ* and *daṇḍ*).

अजां नयति ग्रामम्, भारं वहति ग्रामम्, भारं हरति ग्रामम्, (गत्यर्थानां) गमयति देवदत्तं ग्रामम्, यापयति देवदत्तं ग्रामम् ।

The examples are :-*Ajām nayati grāmam*, *Bhāram vahati grāmam*, *Bhāram harati grāmam*, *Gamayati Dēvadattam grāmam*, *Yāpayati Dēvadattam grāmam*.

सिद्धं वाप्यन्यकर्मणः

It is achieved by taking one to be the *karma* of another *dhātu* (which is understood).

सिद्धं वा पुनरेतद्भवति Or this object is achieved.

कुतः How ?

अन्यकर्मणः - अन्यस्यात्र अजा कर्म, अन्यस्य ग्रामः - अजाम् असौ गृहीत्वा ग्रामं नयति

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By taking one to be the obect of another verb that is understood. Here *ajā* is the object of one and *grāma* is the object of another. It means that he, having taken *ajā*, went to *grāma*.

अन्यकर्मेति चेद्ब्रूयाल्लादीनामविधिर्भवेत्

If it is said to be the *karma* of another, *lādis* cannot be used with reference to them.

अन्यकर्मेति चेद् ब्रूयाद् लादीनामविधिरयं भवेत् - अजा नीयते ग्रामम् इतिपरसाधन उत्पद्यमानेन लेन अजाया अभिधानं न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that it is the *karma* of another, *lādis* used with reference to the other (*grāma*) cannot be applied to it, so that the sentence *Ajā nīyatē grāmam* cannot be accomplished, since *karmaṇilakāra* of *nī* having *grāma* for its *karma* cannot denote the *karmatva* of *ajā*.

कालभावाध्वगन्तव्याः कर्मसंज्ञा ह्यकर्मणाम्

Time, duration and the distance to be travelled take *karma-saṁjñā* with reference to *akarmaka-dhātus*.

कालभावाध्वगन्तव्या अकर्मकाणां धातूनां कर्मसंज्ञा भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम् - (काल) - मासमास्ते, मासं स्वपिति; (भाव) गोदोहमास्ते, गोदोहं स्वपिति; (अध्वगन्तव्य) क्रोशमास्ते, क्रोशं स्वपिति ।

It must be stated that time, duration and the distance to be travelled take *karma-saṁjñā* with reference to intransitive roots. *Viz.* (Time) - *Māsam āstē* and *māsam svapiti*; (Duration) *Gōdōham āstē* (he stays the time taken for milking the cow) and *gōdōham svapiti*; (Distance to be travelled) - *Krōśam āstē* and *krōśam svapiti*.

देशश्चाकर्मणाम्[1] Country too with reference to *akarmakas*.

देशश्चाकर्मकाणां कर्मसंज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - कुरून् स्वपिति, पञ्चालान् स्वपिति ।

1. This is the reading given in Sri Guruprasadasastri's edition; but, on considering the following *vārttika*, it may read *Dēśaścākarmakāṇām hi*. Panduranga Javaji's edition reads *Dēśaś ca*.

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It must be stated that country too take *karma-saṁjñā* with reference to intransitive verbs. *Viz. Kurūn svapiti* and *Pañcālān svapiti.*

देशश्चाकर्मकाणां हि कर्मसंज्ञो भवेद्यदि [1] ।
विपरीतं तु यत्कर्म तत्कल्म कवयो विदुः ॥

Learned men call it *kalma* which is other than those mentioned in the three *sūtras* above (i. e.) the *kāla, bhāva, adhvagantavya* and *dēśa* used as *karma* of *akarmakas.*

किमिदं कल्मेति ? What is this - *kalma* ?

अपरिसमाप्तं कर्म कल्म । न वा अस्मिन् सर्वाणि कर्मकार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

Kalma is incomplete *karma*; for all the *karma-kāryas* are not operated here (i.e. *la, kṛtya, kta* etc.)

किं तर्हि ? Which *karma-kārya* does it take then ?

द्वितीयैव Only the second case.

यस्मिंस्तु कर्मण्युपजायतेऽन्यद्धात्वर्थयोगापि च यत्र षष्ठी । तत्कर्म कल्मेति च, कल्म नोक्तं धातोर्हि वृत्तिर्न रलत्वतोऽस्ति

Kalma is that *karma* in the presence of which the *pradhāna-karma* is produced and which takes the sixth case when it qualifies the *pradhāna-karma* and hence it is not separately mentioned, since there is no change in the meaning of the word simply at the interchange of *r* and *l*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says *aparisamāptam karma kalma* to be *tuccha-pakṣa.* The second line alone is read as *bhāṣya* in the Bombay edition.

एतेन कर्मसंज्ञा सर्वा सिद्धा भवत्यकथितेन ।
तत्रेप्सितस्य किं स्यात्प्रयोजनं कर्मसंज्ञायाः ॥

All *karma-saṁjñās* are achieved by the *sūtra Akathitaṁ ca.* Hence what purpose is served by the *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma* ?

यत्तु कथितं पुरस्तादीप्सितयुक्तं च तस्य सिध्यर्थम् ।
ईप्सितमेव तु यत्स्यात्तस्य भविष्यत्यकथितेन ॥

1. Sri Guruprasadasastri's edition says that this line is found in the *Vārttika* manuscripts.

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The *sūtra Kartur īpsitatamam karma* is intended for achieving *karmasaṁjñā* to that which gets *apādānasaṁjñā* by the *sūtra Vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ*. The *sūtra Akathitam ca* is intended when *īpsitattva* alone is wished for and not *īpsitatamatva*.

अथेह कथं भवितव्यं नेताश्वस्य स्नुघ्नम् इति, आहोस्वित् नेता अश्वस्य स्नुघ्नस्य इति ?

Of these two, *Nētā aśvasya Snughnam*, *Nētā aśvasya Snughnasya*, which is correct?

उभयथा गोणिकापुत्रः[1]

Both are correct, says *Gōṇikāputra*.

गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता स णौ (1, 4, 52)

There are *two* topics dealt with here :-(1) The meaning of the word *karma* in *śabdakarma* (2) Additions to, and alterations in, the *sūtra*.

I

शब्दकर्म इति कथमिदं विज्ञायते, शब्दो येषां क्रिया इति, आहोस्वित् शब्दो येषां कर्म इति ?

With reference to the compound word *śabdakarma*, is it to be understood in the sense *śabdaḥ yēṣām kriyā* or *śabdaḥ yēṣām karma* (i.e.) is the word *karma* used here in the sense of *kriyā* or *karmakāraka*?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here?

शब्दकर्मनिर्देशे शब्दक्रियाणामिति चेत् ह्वयत्यादीनां प्रतिषेधः

If the word *śabdakarma* refers to roots which mean *to make* noise, there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of the roots *hvē* etc.

शब्दकर्मनिर्देशे शब्दक्रियाणामिति चेत् ह्वयत्यादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

If the word *śabdakarma* refers to roots which mean to make noise, there is need to enjoin the *pratiśēdha* of *hvayatyādis*.

के पुनर्ह्वयत्यादयः ? Which are *hvayatyādis*?

ह्वयति, क्रन्दति, शब्दायते । ह्वयति देवदत्तः, ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन ; क्रन्दति देवदत्तः, क्रन्दयति देवदत्तेन ; शब्दायते देवदत्तः, शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन ।

1. With reference to *Gōnikāputra Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says, *Bhāṣyakāra ityāhuḥ. Cf.* Vol. I Preface p. XLIX (1st Edn.)

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The roots *hvē*, *krand* and *śabda* (nominal root). *Viz.*, *Hvayati Dēvadattaḥ*, *hvāyayati Dēvadattēna*; *krandati Dēvadattaḥ*, *krandayati Dēvadattēna*; *śabdāyatē* (*śabdam karōti*) *Dēvadattaḥ*, *śabdāyayati Dēvadattēna*.

श्रृणोत्यादीनाश्चोपसङ्ख्यानमशब्दक्रियत्वात्

Need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *śṛṇōtyādis* on account of their not being *śabdakriyā*.

श्रृणोत्यादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

There is need to add to the list the roots *śṛ* etc.

के पुनः श्रृणोत्यादयः ? What are *śṛṇōtyādis* ?

श्रृणोति, विजानाति, उपलभते । श्रृणोति देवदत्तः; श्रावयति देवदत्तम् । विजानाति देवदत्तः, विज्ञापयति देवदत्तम् । उपलभते देवदत्तः, उपलम्भयति देवदत्तम्

The roots *śṛ*, *jñā* with *vi* and *labh* with *upa*. *Viz.*, *śṛṇōti Dēvadattaḥ*, *śrāvayati Dēvadattam*; *vijānāti Dēvadattaḥ*, *vijñāpapayati Dēvadattam*; *upalabhatē Dēvadattaḥ*, *upalambhayati Dēvadattam*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why are not these forms secured?

अशब्दक्रियत्वात् On account of their being not *śabdakriya*.

अस्तु तर्हि शब्दो येषां कर्म इति ।

If so, let it be understood in the sense *śabdaḥ yēṣām karma*.

शब्दकर्मण इति चेत् जल्पतिप्रभृतीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

If it is taken in the sense of *śabdakarma*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *jalpatyādis*.

शब्दकर्मण इति चेत् जल्पतिप्रभृतीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

If it is taken in the sense of *śabdakarma*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of the roots *jalp* etc.

के पुनर्जल्पतिप्रभृतयः ? Which are *jalpatyādis* ?

जल्पति, विलपति, आभाषते । जल्पति देवदत्तः, जल्पयति देवदत्तम्; विलपति देवदत्तः, विलापयति देवदत्तम्; आभाषते देवदत्तः, आभाषयति देवदत्तम् ।

The roots *jalp*, *lap* with *vi* and *bhāṣ* with *ā*. *Viz. Jalpati Dēvadattaḥ*, *jalpayati Dēvadattam*; *vilapati Dēvadattaḥ*, *vilāpayati Dēvadattam*; *ābhāṣatē Dēvadattaḥ*, *ābhāṣayati Dēvadattam*.

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सर्वत्र दृशेः [1]

Need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *dṛś* in both the interpretations.

दृशेः सर्वत्रोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - पश्यति रूपतर्कः कार्षापणं, दर्शयति रूपतर्कं कार्षापणम् ।

There is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *dṛś* in both the interpretations. *Viz. Paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpaṇam, darśayati rūpatarkam kārṣāpaṇam.*

II

अदिखादिनीवहीनां प्रतिषेधः

There is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *ad*, *khād*, *nī* and *vah*.

अदिखादिनीवहीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - अत्ति देवदत्तः, आदयते देवदत्तेन ।

There is need to enjoin the *pratiṣēdha* of *ad*, *khād*, *nī* and *vah*. *Viz. Atti Dēvadattaḥ, ādayatē Dēvadattēna.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Adi-khādyōḥ pratyavasānārthatvāt prāptiḥ, nī-vahyōr gatyarthatvāt.*

अपर आह - सर्वमेव प्रत्यवसानकार्यमदेः न भवतीति वक्तव्यं, परस्मैपदमपि इदमेकमिष्यते - क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, इदमेषां जग्धम्

Another says that *ad* does not take all the *kārya* of *pratyavasāna* and *parasmāipada* except the operation of the rule *Ktōsdhikaraṇē ca dhrāuvya-gatipratyavasānārthēbhyaḥ* (3, 4, 76) so that the *prayōga Idam ēṣām jagdham* is secured.

खादि - खादति देवदत्तः, खादयति देवदत्तेन । नी - नयति देवदत्तः, नाययति देवदत्तेन

The examples with reference to the roots *khād* and *nī* are:- *Khādati Dēvadattaḥ, khādayati Dēvadattēna*; *nayati Dēvadattaḥ, nāyayati Dēvadattēna*.

वहेरनियन्तृकतृकस्य

Vah should be restricted with reference to one who is not *niyantṛkartā*.

वहेरनियन्तृककर्तृकस्य इति वक्तव्यम् - वहति भारं देवदत्तः, वाहयति भारं देवदत्तेन

1. दृशेः सर्वत्र is another reading.

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It must be said that *vah* should be restricted with reference to one who is not controlled by another.

अनियन्तृककर्तृकस्य इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the restriction *aniyantṛkakartṛkasya*?

वहन्ति बलीवर्दा यवान्, वाहयति बलीवर्दान् यवान्

So that it should not operate here:—*Vahanti balīvardā yavān, vāhayati balīvardān yavān.*

भक्षेरहिंसार्थस्य

Bhakṣ should be restricted to the meanings other than *to destroy*.

भक्षेरहिंसार्थस्येति वक्तव्यम् - भक्षयति पिण्डीं देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिण्डीं देवदत्तेन

There is need to restrict the root *bhakṣ* to denote meanings other than to destroy. *Viz. Bhakṣayati piṇḍīm Dēvadattaḥ* (*Dēvadatta* eats the ball of food), *bhakṣayati piṇḍīm Dēvadattēna* (he makes the ball of food eaten by *Dēvadatta*).

अहिंसार्थस्य इति किमर्थम्?

What for is the mention of *ahiṁsārthasya*?

भक्षयन्ति यवान् बलीवर्दाः, भक्षयति बलीवर्दान् यवान्

So that *karmasaṁjñā* may come here - to *balīvarda* in *bhakṣayati balīvardān yavān* corresponding to *bhakṣayanti yavān balīvardāḥ* (oxen destroy *yava*).

अकर्मकग्रहणे कालकर्मणामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Need to add *kālakarmaṇām* after *akarmaka* in the *sūtra*.

अकर्मकग्रहणे कालकर्मणामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - मासम् आस्ते देवदत्तः, मासमासयति देवदत्तम्; मासं शेते देवदत्तः, मासं शाययति देवदत्तम्।

There is need to add *kālakarmaṇām* after *akarmaka* in the *sūtra*, so that *karmasaṁjñā* may come to *Dēvadatta* in the following cases:—*Māsam āsayati Dēvadattam*; *māsam śāyayati Dēvadattam*, Corresponding to *māsam āstē Dēvadattaḥ*, *māsam śētē Dēvadattaḥ*.

सिद्धं तु कालकर्मणामकर्मकवद्वचनात्

It is achieved by stating that *kālakarmakas* are like *akarmakas*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

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कथम्? How?

कालकर्मका अकर्मकवद्भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be stated that *kālakarmakas* behave like *akarmakas*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then should be read.

न वक्तव्यम्। अकर्मकाणामित्युच्यते। न च केचित् कालभावाध्वभिरकर्मकाः, त एवं विज्ञास्यामः क्वचिद्ये अकर्मका इति।

No, it need not be read. Mention is made of *akarmakāṇām*. There is no root which cannot take time, state or distance as its object. Hence *akarmakāḥ* means those which do not take anything other than those three (i.e.) say *dravya* for their objects.

अथ वा येन कर्मणा सकर्मकाश्च अकर्मकाश्च भवन्ति तेन अकर्मकाणाम्। न चैतेन कर्मणा कश्चिदप्यकर्मकः।

Or *akarmakāṇām* refers to those roots which become *akarmakas* and *sakarmakas* by the same *karma* (i.e.) *kāla* etc. No root is *akarmaka* by this *karma* (i.e.) *kāla* etc.

अथ वा यत् कर्म भवति, न च भवति, तेनाकर्मकाणाम्। न चैतत्कर्म क्वचिदपि न भवति।

Or *akarmakāṇām* refers to roots which do not take that as *karma* which becomes *karma* elsewhere. There is no place where this *kāla* etc. does not become *karma*.

हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम् (1, 4, 53)

हृक्रोर्वावचनेऽभिवादिदृशोरात्मनेपद उपसङ्ख्यानम्

Abhivādi-dṛśōr ātmanēpadē is to be added to the *sūtra*.

हृक्रोर्वावचनेऽभिवादिदृशोरात्मनेपद उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - अभिवदति गुरुं देवदत्तः, अभिवादयते गुरुं देवदत्तम्, अभिवादयते गुरुं देवदत्तेन; पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्, दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजा, दर्शयते भृत्यै राजा।

There is need to add *Abhivādi-dṛśōr ātmanēpadē* after *hṛkrōḥ* Viz., *Abhivadati gurum Dēvadattaḥ, abhivādayatē gurum Dēvadattam, abhivādayatē gurum Dēvadattēna; Paśyanti bhṛtyā rājānam, darśayatē bhṛtyān rājā, darśayatē bhṛtyāi rājā.*

कथं चात्र आत्मनेपदम्?

What is the authority for *ātmanēpada* here?

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एकस्य णेरणौ इति, अपरस्य णिचश्च इति ।

The *sūtra Ṇēr aṇāu*...(1, 3, 67) is for one and *Ṇicaś ca* (1, 3, 74) is for the other.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता (1, 4, 54)

There are *two* topics here: (1) The meaning of the word *svatantra*. (2) Need or otherwise of adding *prayōjyaś ca.*

I

किं यस्य स्वं तन्त्रं स स्वतन्त्रः ?

Does *svatantra* mean he who has warp?

कि चातः ? What if?

तन्तुवाये प्राप्नोति

The *saṁjñā* will chance to reach weaver (alone).

नैष दोषः । अयं तन्त्रशब्दोऽस्त्येव विताने वर्तते । तद्यथा - आस्तीर्णं तन्त्रं, प्रोतं तन्त्रम् इति । वितानमिति गम्यते । अस्ति प्राधान्ये वर्तते । तद्यथा - स्वतन्त्रोऽसौ ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते, स्वप्रधान इति गम्यते । तद्यः प्राधान्ये वर्तते तन्त्रशब्दः तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ।

This difficulty does not arise. This word *tantra* means extension, as in *Āstīrṇam tantram* and *prōtam tantram* and it means *prādhānya*, as in *Svatantrōsāu brāhmaṇaḥ*. Here it should be taken to mean *prādhānya*.

II

स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तृसंज्ञायां हेतुमत्युपसङ्ख्यानमस्वतन्त्रत्वात्

If *kartṛsaṁjñā* is to *svatantra*, there is need to add *prayōjya* to get the *saṁjñā* since he is *asvatantra*.

स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तृसंज्ञाया हेतुमत्युपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तेन इति

If *kartṛsaṁjñā* is to *svatantra*, there is need to add *prayōjya* so that third case may be used along with *Yajñadatta* in the sentence *Pācayati ōdanam Dēvadattō Yajñadattēna*.

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किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not secured ?

अस्वतन्त्रत्वात् On account of his not being *svatantra*.

न वा स्वातन्त्र्यात्, इतरथा ह्यकुर्वत्यपि कारयतीति स्यात्

No, it need not be on account of *svātantrya*; otherwise there is chance for the *prayōja-kārayati* even with reference to one who does not do the action.

न वा कर्तव्यम् No, it need not be read.

किं कारणम्? Why?

स्वातन्त्र्यात् - स्वतन्त्रोऽसौ भवति

On account of *svātantrya*. He is *svatantra*.

इतरथा ह्यकुर्वत्यपि कारयतीति स्यात् - यो हि मन्यते नासौ स्वतन्त्रः अकुर्वत्यपि तस्य कारयति इत्येतत् स्यात् ।

Otherwise there will be the usage *kārayati* even with reference to one who does not do the *karma*. There is chance, for the use of the term *kārayati* even with reference to one who does not do the *karma* in his opinion who thinks that the *prayōjya-kartā* is not *svatantra*.

नाकुर्वतीति चेत् स्वतन्त्रः

If it is said that the term is not used with reference to one who does not do the *karma*, he is *svatantra*.

न चेदकुर्वति तस्मिन् कारयति इत्येतद् भवति, स्वतन्त्रोऽसौ भवति ।

If it is said that the term *kārayati* is not used with reference to one who does not do, he becomes *svatantra*.

शक्यं तावद् अनेनोपसङ्ख्यानं कुर्वता वक्तुं कुर्वन् स्वतन्त्रः, अकुर्वन्न इति ।

It is then possible for one who favours *upasankhyāna* to say that he who does is *svatantra* and that he who does not do is not *svatantra*.

साधीयो ज्ञापकं भवति । प्रेषिते च किल अयं क्रियां च अक्रियां च दृष्ट्वा अध्यवस्यति, कुर्वन् स्वतन्त्रः अकुर्वन्न इति । यदि च प्रेषितोऽसौ न करोति स्वतन्त्रोऽसौ भवतीति ।

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The inference is better. One decides that he who does is *svatantra* and that he who does not do is not *svatantra* only after seeing the *prayōjya* doing it or not doing it. Even when the *prayōjya* does not do it, he is *svatantra* (to choose not to do it).

तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च (1, 4, 55)

प्रैषेऽस्वतन्त्रप्रयोजकत्वाद्धेतुसंज्ञाप्रसिद्धिः

Direction being in the range of the *prērakatva* of *asvatantra*, there is no chance for *hētusaṁjñā* to take *kartṛsaṁjñā*.

प्रैषे अस्वतन्त्रप्रयोजकत्वात् हेतुसंज्ञाया अप्रसिद्धिः प्राप्नोति । स्वतन्त्रप्रयोजको हेतुसंज्ञो भवतीत्युच्यते न चासौ स्वतन्त्रं प्रयोजयति ।

Since direction is within the range of the *prēraktva* of *asvatantra*, there is no chance for *hētusaṁjñā* to take *kartṛsaṁjñā*. The *sūtra* says that the *hētu* which is the *prayōjaka* of *svatantra* takes *katṛsaṁjñā*; but this is not the *prayōjaka* of *svatantra*.

स्वतन्त्रत्वात् सिद्धम्

The object is achieved on account of *svatantratva*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

स्वतन्त्रत्वात् । स्वतन्त्रमसौ प्रयोजयति

On account of *svatantratva* (of the *prayōjya*). He serves as the *prayōjaka* of the *svatantra*.

स्वतन्त्रत्वात् सिद्धमिति चेत् स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्रत्वं विप्रतिषिद्धम्

If it is said *Svatantratvād siddham*, there is conflict in saying *svatantra* and *paratantra*.

यदि स्वतन्त्रो न प्रयोज्यः, अथ प्रयोज्यो न स्वतन्त्रः, प्रयोज्यः स्वतन्त्रश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम्

If he is *svatantra*, he cannot be *prayōjya* and if he is *prayōjya*, he cannot be *svatantra*; hence it is contradictory to say that one is both *prayōjya* and *svatantra*.

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उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

एकं तावदुक्तम् न वा स्वातन्त्र्यादितरथा ह्यकुर्वत्यपि कारयतीत्येतत्स्याद् इति
Firstly it was said in the previous *sūtra* "*Na vā svātantryād itarathā hyakurvatyapi kārayatītyētat syāt.*"

अपरमुक्तं न वा सामान्यकृतत्वाद्धेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टम् । स्वतन्त्रप्रयोजकत्वाद् अप्रयोजक इति चेन्मुक्तसंशयेन तुल्यम् इति ।
Another argument has been said (by *Vārttikakāra* under *Hētumati ca* 3, 1, 26) "*Na vā sāmānyakṛtatvāt hētutō hyaviśiṣṭam*; *Svatantraprayōjakatvād aprayōjaka iti cēn muktasaṁśayēna tulyam.*"

SEVENTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

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Eighteenth Āhnika

(First *adhyāya*, fourth *pāda*, fourth *āhnika*)

प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः (1, 4, 56)

There are *two* topics here :-(1) Why is *rīśvarād* read instead of *īśvarād?* (2) What is the purpose of reading *prāk* in the *sūtra*?

I

किमर्थं रेफाधिक ईश्वरशब्दो गृह्यते ?

Why is *rīsvara* read in place of *īśvara*?

रीश्वराद्वीश्वरान्मा भूत्

So that the *nipāta-saṁjñā* may not extend to the *sūtra Īśvarē tōsun-kasunāu* (3, 4, 13) which follows *Śaki ṇamulkamulāu*, but may stop with *Adhirīśvarē* (1, 4, 97).

रीश्वराद् इत्युच्यते वीश्वरान् मा भूदिति - शकिणमुलकमुलावीश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ इति

Rīśvarād is read so that *vīśvarād* found in *Śaki-ṇamul-kumalā-vīśvarē tōsun-kasunāu* (*saṁhitā-pāṭha*) may not be taken.

NOTE:—Definiteness is aimed at though with incorrect expression.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति अनन्तरो य ईश्वरशब्दस्तस्य ग्रहणम् इति, यदयं कृन्मेजन्तः इति कृतो मान्तस्यैजन्तस्याव्ययसंज्ञां शास्ति ।

No, this cannot be the *prayōjana*. Since *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) enjoins in the *sūtra Kṛnmējantaḥ* (1, 1, 39) that *mānta* and *ējanta* get *avyayasaṁjñā* (by being *nipāta*), his procedure suggests that the word *īśvara* which immediately follows should be taken into account.

कृन्मेजन्तः परोऽपि सः There is *kṛnmējanta* even after it

परोऽप्येतस्मात् कृन्मेजन्तश्चास्ति तदर्थमेतत् स्यात्

There is *mānta* and *ējanta* even after the second *īśvara* and it is intended for it.

NOTE:—The *ējanta* is in the *sūtra Kṛtyārthē tavāikēn-kēnyatvanaḥ* which immediately follows the *sūtra Īśvarē tōsun-*

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यर्त्तहि अव्ययीभावस्याव्ययसंज्ञां शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनन्तरो य ईश्वर-शब्दस्तस्य ग्रहणम् इति ।

If so, since *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) enjoins *avyayasaṁjñā* to *avyayībhāva*, he suggests that the word *īśvara* which immediately follows should be taken into account.

NOTE:—If the second *īśvara* is taken into account, the *avyayībhāva* mentioned in the second *adhyāya* will take *nipāta-saṁjñā* and consequently *avyaya-saṁjñā* since the former is in the fourth *pāda* of the third chapter.

समासेष्वव्ययीभावः

To suggest that *avyayībhāva* alone takes *avyayasaṁjñā* among *samāsas*.

समासस्यैतज्ज्ञापकं स्यात् – अव्ययीभाव एव समासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति नान्य इति ।

It becomes *jñāpaka* only to *samāsa* (i. e.) among *samāsas*, *avyayībhāva* alone gets the *avyayasaṁjñā*.

एवं तर्हि, लोकत एतत्सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके आ वनान्ताद् आ उदकान्तात् प्रियं पान्थमनुव्रजेत् इति । य एव प्रथमो वनान्त उदकान्तश्च ततोऽनुव्रजन्ति ।

If so, it is decided from what is seen in the world. It is said that one should wish his friend *bon-voyage* after accompanying him as far as thick bush or water. They accompany him only as far as the *vana* or the first *udakāśaya* which is nearest.

लौकिकं चातिवर्तते

One even transgresses that rule found in the world.

द्वितीयं च तृतीयं च वनान्तमुदकान्तं च अनुव्रजन्ति

They accompany him even as far as the second or the third *vana* or *udaka* which is one more remote or two.

तस्माद्रेफाधिक ईश्वरशब्दो ग्रहीतव्यः

Hence the word *rīśvarāt* alone has to be read in the *sūtra*.

11

अथ प्राग्वचनं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *prāk* read ?

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kasunāu and *mānta* in the *sūtra* *Karmaṇyākrōśē kṛñaḥ khamuñ* 3, 4, 25).

प्राग्वचनं संज्ञानिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The word *prāk* is read not to allow the *saṁjñā* to recede.

प्राग्वचनं क्रियते निपातसंज्ञाया अनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । अक्रियमाणे हि प्राग्वचने अनवकाशा गत्युपसर्गकर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा निपातसंज्ञां बाधेरन्; ताः मा बाधिषत इति प्राग्वचनं क्रियते ।

The word *prāk* is read so that there may be no *nivṛtti* to the *nipātasaṁjñā*. If the word *prāk* is not read, the *saṁjñās gati*, *upasarga* and *karmapravacanīya* which are *anavakāśa* may set at naught the *nipātasaṁjñā*; in order that they may not do it, the word *prāk* is read.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि प्राग्वचने यावता अनवकाशा एताः संज्ञाः कस्मादेव न बाधन्ते ?

How do these *saṁjñās*, if *anavıkāśas*, not set it at naught, even though the word *prāk* is read?

क्रियमाणे हि प्राग्वचने सत्यां निपातसंज्ञायामेता अवयवसंज्ञा आरभ्यन्ते, तत्र वचनात् समावेशो भवति ।

These *avayavasaṁjñās* are enjoined only when *nipātasaṁjñā* is there on account of the reading of *prāk* and hence, on its strength all exist together.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Kēvalē tu nipātaḥ ityadhikārē kriyamāṇē satyām api pratiyōgam anuvṛttāu ēkasaṁjñādhikārāt paryāyaḥ syāt, na tu samāvēśaḥ syāt.*

चादयोऽसत्त्वे (1, 4, 57)

There are *two* topics here:-(1) What is the meaning of *sattva?* (2) Is *asattvē paryudāsa* or *prasajya-pratiṣēdha?*

I

अयं सत्त्वशब्दोऽस्त्येव द्रव्यपदार्थकः - तद्यथा; सत्त्वमयं ब्राह्मणः; सत्त्वमियं ब्राह्मणी इति । अस्ति क्रियापदार्थकः - सद्भावः सत्त्वम् इति । कस्येदं ग्रहणम्?

This word *sattva* means *dravya*, as in *sattvam ayaṃ brāhmaṇaḥ* and *sattvam iyam brāhmaṇī*. It means *kriyā*; *sattvam* is *sadbhāva* or *sattā*. In which meaning is this word used here?

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द्रव्यपदार्थकस्य In the meaning of *dravya*.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it so ?

एवं हि कृत्वा विधिश्च सिद्धो भवति, प्रतिषेधश्च

Only on this interpretation, *vidhi* and *pratiṣēdha* are possible.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Yadi sattvaśabdēna sattā ucyatē, tadā pratiṣēdhōsnarthakaḥ syāt. Na hi cādiṣu sattāvācī kaścit śabdōssti yadarthō niṣēdhaḥ syāt.*

II

किं पुनरयं पर्युदासः - यदन्यत् सत्त्ववचनादिति, आहोस्वित् प्रसज्यायं प्रतिषेधः - सत्त्ववचने न इति ?

Is it *paryudāsa* meaning *that which is other than sattva* or *prasajya-pratiṣēdha* meaning *but not in sattva*.

किं चातः ? What is the difference ?

यदि पर्युदासः, विप्र इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति । क्रियाद्रव्यवचनोऽयं सङ्घातः । द्रव्यादन्यश्च विधिना आश्रीयते । अस्ति च प्रादिभिः सामान्यमिति कृत्वा तदन्तविधिना निपातसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । अथ प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधो न दोषो भवति ।

If it is *paryudāsa, nipātasaṁjñā* will chance to come to the word *vipra*. It denotes *kriyōpasarjana-dravyatva* and hence it is other than *dravya* and so the word gets the *saṁjñā* through this *sūtra*. Since the word is considered similar to *prādīs*, *nipātasaṁjñā* sets in on account of the operation of *tadanta-vidhi*. If, on the other hand, it is taken as *prasajyapratiṣēdha*, there is no difficulty.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :-*Viprāti iti vipraḥ.*

यथा न दोषः तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way which will give no room for any difficulty.

प्रादय उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे (1, 4, 58-59)

प्रादय इति योगविभागः

Prādayaḥ is split as a separate *sūtra*.

प्रादय इति योगविभागः कर्तव्यः प्रादयोऽसत्त्ववचना निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति । तत उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे इति ।

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There is need to read *Prādayaḥ* as a separate *sūtra*, so that *prādīs* which do not denote *dravya* take *nipātasaṁjñā*. Then *Upasargāḥ kriyāyōgē* is to be read as a *sūtra*.

किमर्थो योगविभागः ? What for is the *yōgavibhāga* ?

निपातसंज्ञार्थः So that *prādis* may get *nipātasaṁjñā*.

निपातसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्

So that *nipātasaṁjñā* may take hold of them.

एकयोगे हि निपातसंज्ञाभावः

For, there is no chance for *nipātasaṁjñā* if the whole is taken as one *sūtra*.

एकयोगे हि सति निपातसंज्ञाया अभावः स्यात् । यस्मिन्नेव विशेषे गत्युपसर्गकर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञास्तस्मिन्नेव विशेषे निपातसंज्ञा स्यात्

If it is taken as one *sūtra*, there is no chance for them to get *nipātasaṁjñā* as a general case. The *nipātasaṁjñā* will take hold of them only on such occasions as will enable them get *gatisaṁjñā*, *upasargasaṁjñā* or *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā*.

मरुच्छब्दस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्

The word *marut* should be added to the list.

मरुच्छब्दस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - मरुद्त्तो मरुत्तः - अच उपसर्गाद् इति तत्त्वं यथा स्यात्

There is need to add *marut* to the list, so that by the operation of the *sūtra Aca upasargāt taḥ* (7, 4, 47) *Marud dattaḥ* may become *maruttaḥ*.

श्रच्छब्दस्योपसङ्ख्यानम् The word *śrat* should be added to the list.

श्रच्छब्दस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यं - श्रद्धा

There is need to add *śrat* to the list, so that the word *śraddhā* may be secured.

गतिश्च (1, 4, 60)

कारिकाशब्दस्य Need to add the word *kārikā*.

कारिकाशब्दस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - कारिकाकृत्य

There is need to add the word *kārikā* to the list, so that the form *kārikākṛtya* may be secured.

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NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Kārikā kriyā, maryādā sthitiḥ ityarthaḥ. Yatna ityaparē.*

पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि

Need to add *punar* and *canas* with reference to the usage in *Vēdas.*

पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् - पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयम्, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः, उशिग्दूतश्चनोहितः इति

It must be said that *punar* and *canas* take *gatisaṁjñā* in *Vēdas,* for the sake of *samāsa* in *punarutsyūtam* and *punar-niṣkṛtaḥ* in the *Vēdic* sentences *Punar-utsyūtam vāsō dēyam* and *punar-niṣkṛtō rathaḥ* and for the sake of *prakṛtisvara* in *canōhitaḥ* in the *Vēdic* sentence *Uśidūtaś canōhitaḥ.*

गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः क्रियायोगे यत्क्रियायुक्तास्तं प्रतीति वचनम्

Need to enjoin that there are *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasarga-saṁjñā* only with reference to the *kriyā* with which they are associated.

गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः क्रियायोगे यत्क्रियायुक्तास्तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञा भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be enjoined that those that get *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasargasaṁjñā* have them only with reference to the *kriyā* with which they are associated.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

प्रयोजनं घञ् षत्वणत्वे

Benefit is with reference to *ghañ, ṣatva* and *ṇatva.*

घञ् - प्रवृद्धो भावः - प्रभावः, अनुपसर्गे इति प्रतिषेधो मा भूत्

Ghañ - So that the *pratiṣēdha* of *ghañ*, by the *sūtra Śrīṇibhuvō-nupasargē* (3, 3, 24) may not take place in the formation of the word *prabhāvaḥ* whose *vigraha* is *pravṛddhō bhāvaḥ.*

NOTE:—*Pra* has *upasargasaṁjñā* only with reference to *vṛdh* and not with reference to *bhū.*

षत्वम् - विगताः सेचकाः अस्माद्ग्रामात् विसेचको ग्रामः । उपसर्गादिति षत्वं मा भूत् ।

So that *ṣatva* may not take place by the *sūtra Upasargāt sunōti ... sica - sañja-svañjām* (8, 3, 65) in the word *visēcakaḥ*

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of the sentence *Visēcakō grāmaḥ*, whose *vigrahavākya* is *vigatāḥ sēcakāḥ asmāt*.

NOTE :—*Vi* has got *upasargasaṁjñā* only with reference to *gam* and not with reference to *sic*.

णत्वम् - प्रगता नायका अस्माद्ग्रामात् प्रनायको ग्रामः । उपसर्गादिति णत्वं मा भूत्

Ṇatva. So that *ṇatva* may not take place by the *sūtra Upasargāt* .... (8, 4, 14) in the word *pranāyakaḥ* of the sentence *pranāyakō grāmaḥ* whose *vigrahavākya* is *pragatāḥ nāyakāḥ asmāt*.

वृद्धिविधौ च धातुग्रहणानर्थक्यम्

Non-necessity of reading *dhātu* in *vṛddhividhi*.

वृद्धिविधौ च धातुग्रहणमनर्थकम् - उपसर्गादृति धातौ इति । तत्र धातुग्रहणस्यैतत प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् प्रर्षभं वनम् इति । क्रियमाणे चापि धातुग्रहणे प्रर्छक इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । यत्क्रियायुक्ताः तं प्रतीतिवचनान्न भवति

No purpose is served by reading *dhātāu* in the *sūtra Upasargād ṛti dhātāu* (6, 1, 91) which deals with *vṛddhi*. It is used to avoid *vṛddhi* in *prarṣabha* in the phrase *prarṣabham vanam*. Even if it is read, it will chance to appear in the word *prarchakaḥ*. This may be avoided by taking recourse to the dictum *Yatkriyāyuktās tam prati gatyupasargasaṁjñā bhavanti*.

वद्विधिनस्भावाबीत्वस्वाङ्गादिस्वरणत्वेषु दोषः

Difficulty will arise with respect to *vadvidhi*, *nasbhāva*, *abītva*, *svāṅgādisvara* and *ṇatva*.

वद्विधिनस्भावाबीत्वस्वङ्गादिस्वरणत्वेषु दोषो भवति

Difficulty will arise with respect to *vadvidhi*, *nasbhāva*, *abītva*, *svāṅgādisvara* and *ṇatva*.

वद्विधि यदुद्वतो निवतो यासि वप्सन् (R. V. 10, 142, 4)

There will be difficulty with reference to *vat-pratyaya* in the words *udvataḥ* and *nivataḥ* in the *Vēdic* sentence *Yad udvatō nivatō yāsi vapsan*, by the *sūtra Upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthē* (5, 1, 118).

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नस्भाव - प्रणसं मुखं, उन्नसं मुखम्

There will be difficulty with reference to *nasbhāva* of *nāsikā* by the *sūtra Upasargācca* (5, 4, 119) in the words *praṇasam* and *unnasam*, in the phrases *praṇasam mukham* and *unnasam mukham*.

अबीत्व - प्रेपं परेपम्

There will be difficulty with reference to the *ītva* of *ap* by the *sūtra Dvyantar upasargēbhyōspa īt* (6, 3, 97) in the words *prēpam* and *parēpam*.

स्वाङ्गादिस्वर - प्रस्फिक्, प्रोदरः

There will be difficulty with reference to *uttarapadādyudātta-svara* by the *sūtra Upasargās svāṅgam dhruvam aparśu* (6, 2, 177) in *prasphik* and *prōdaraḥ*.

णत्व - प्रणः शूद्रः, प्र ण आचार्यः, प्र णो राजा प्र णो वृत्रहा उपसर्गाद् इत्येते विधयो न प्राप्नुवन्ति

There will be difficulty with reference to *ṇatva* in the word *naḥ* in the phrases *Pra ṇaḥ śūdraḥ*, *Pra ṇa ācāryaḥ*, *Pra ṇō rājā*, *Pra ṇō vṛtrahā* by the *sūtra Upasargād bahulam* (8, 4, 28). These *vidhis* cannot operate, since they are enjoined after *upasarga*.

वद्विधिनस्भावाबीत्वस्वाङ्गादिस्वरणत्वेषु वचनप्रामाण्यात्सिद्धम्

Vadvidhi, *nasbhāva*, *abītva*, *svāṅgādisvara* and *ṇatva* take place on account of *vacanaprāmāṇya*.

अनवकाशा एते विधयस्ते वचनप्रामाण्याद्भविष्यन्ति

These *vidhis* have no other room to operate and hence they operate on the strength of their being read.

सुदुरोः प्रतिषेधो नुम्विधितत्वषत्वणत्वेषु

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *su* and *dur* with reference to *num-vidhi*, *tatva*, *ṣatva* and *ṇatva*.

नुम्विधि - सुलभं, दुर्लभम्, उपसर्गादिति नुम् मा भूद् इति । न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम् इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

So that *num* cannot appear in the words *sulabham* and *durlabham* by the *sūtra Upasargād khalghañōḥ* (7, 1, 67). In

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that case the *sūtra Na sudurbhyām kēvalābhyām* (7, 1, 68) need not be read.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव

This benefit cannot arise. It is read in the *sūtra.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Kēvalābhyām iti viśēṣaṇābhidhānārtham avaśyam kartavyam.*

तत्व - सुदत्तम्, अच उपसर्गात्तः इति तत्वं मा भूदिति ।

So that *tatva* may not appear in the word *sudattam* by the *sūtra Aca upasargāt taḥ* (7, 4, 47).

षत्व - सुसिक्तं घटशतेन, सुस्तुतं श्लोकशतेन । उपसर्गादिति षत्वं मा भूदिति । सुः पूजायामित्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

So that *ṣatva* may not appear in *susiktam* and *sustutam* in the sentences *Susiktam ghaṭaśatēna* and *sustutam ślōkaśatēna* by the *sūtra Upasargāt sunōti ... stāuti ... sica ...* (8, 3, 65). In that case the *sūtra Suḥ pūjāyām* (1, 4, 95) need not be read.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियत एतन्न्यास एव

This is not the benefit. It is read in the *sūtra.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Pūjāyām iti viśēṣaṇōpādānārtham.*

णत्व - दुर्नयं, दुर्नीतमिति । उपसर्गादिति णत्वं मा भूदिति

So that *ṇatva* may not appear in the words *durnayam* and *durnītam* by the *sūtra Upasargāt ...* (8, 4, 14).

ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च (1, 4, 60)

कृभ्वस्तियोगे Need to read in association with *kr̥*, *bhū* and *as.*

कृभ्वस्तियोग इति वक्तव्यम् - इहैव यथा स्यात् - ऊरीकृत्य, ऊरीभूय । इह मा भूत् ऊरी पक्त्वा ।

It must be said that they take *gatisaṁjñā* only in association with the roots *kr̥, bhū* and *as,* so that it may operate only here in *ūrīkr̥tya* and *ūrībhūya* and not in *ūrīpaktvā.*

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must then be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । क्रियायोग इत्यनुवर्तते । न चान्यया क्रिययोर्यादिच्विडाचां योगोऽस्ति ।

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No, it need not. There is *anuvṛtti* for *kriyāyōgē* and *ūryādi*, *cvi* and *ḍāc* do not come in association with roots other than they.

अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् (1, 4, 62)

There are *two* topics here:-(1) Is *itiparam* a *tatpuruṣa* compound or a *bahuvrīhi* compound? (2) What is the need for this *sūtra*?

I

कथमिदं विज्ञायते, इतेः परम् इतिपरं, न इतिपरम् अनितिपरम् इति, आहोस्विद् इतिः परो यस्मात् तदिदमितिपरं, न इतिपरम् अनितिपरम् इति?

How is this (*anitiparam*) interpreted? Is it taken as the *nañ-samāsa* of *na* and *itiparam* where *itiparam* is *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* or is it taken as the *nañsamāsa* of *na* and *itiparam* where *iti-param* is a *bahuvrīhi samāsa*?

किं चातः? What will be the difference?

यदि विज्ञायते इतेः परम् इतिपरं, न इतिपरम् अनितिपरमिति, खाडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत् इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति। अथ विज्ञायते इतिः परो यस्मात् तदितिपरं, न इतिपरम् अनितिपरमिति, श्रौषड् - वौषड् इति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत् इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति।

If it is taken as the *samāsa* of *na* and *itiparam* where the latter is a *tatpuruṣa*, *gatisaṁjñā* will chance to appear to *khāṭ* in *Khāḍ iti kṛtvā niraṣṭhīvāt*. If, on the other hand, it is taken as the *samāsa* of *na* and *itiparam* where the latter is a *bahuvrīhi-samāsa*, *gatisaṁjñā* will chance to appear to *śrāuṣaṭ* in *Śrāuṣaḍ-vāuṣaḍ iti kṛtvā niraṣṭhīvat*.

अस्तु तावत् इतिः परो यस्मात् तदितिपरं न इतिपरम् अनितिपरम् इति

If so, let it be the *samāsa* of *na* and *itiparam* where the latter is a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

ननु चोक्तं श्रौषड्वौषडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत् इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति इति

Oh it was said that it will chance to appear in *śrāuṣaṭ* in *śrāuṣaḍ-vāuṣaḍ iti kṛtvā niraṣṭhīvat*.

नैष दोषः। इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः - अथेह ते प्राग्धातोः इति कथं गतिमात्रस्य पूर्वप्रयोगो भवति उपोद्धरतीति? गत्याकृतिः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते! इहापि तर्हि अनुकरणाकृतिः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते।

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This difficulty does not arise. He is to be put this] question whether, with reference to *Tē prāg dhātōḥ*, only one word which has *gatisaṁjñā* precede the root or the whole *samudāya* of *gatisaṁjñās* in the word *upōddharati*. Here too, then, the whole *samudāya* of *anukaraṇa* is taken into account.

II

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What is the need for this *sūtra* ?

अनुकरणस्येतिकरणपरत्वप्रतिषेधोऽनिष्टशब्दनिवृत्त्यर्थः

The *pratiṣēdha* of *itikaraṇaparatva* to *anukaraṇa* is to avoid *aniṣṭaśabda*.

अनुकरणस्येतिकरणपरत्वप्रतिषेध उच्यते

It is said that the use of *iti* is to be prohibited after *anukaraṇaśabdas*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the *prayōjana* ?

अनिष्टशब्दनिवृत्त्यर्थः - अनिष्टशब्दता मा भूद् इति

For the sake of avoiding *aniṣṭa-śabda*. In order that an incorrect word may not be used.

इदं विचारयिष्यते - प्राग्धातुवचनं प्रयोगनियमार्थं वा स्यात् संज्ञानियमार्थं वा इति । तद्यदा प्रयोगनियमार्थं तदा अनिष्टशब्दनिवृत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् । यदा हि संज्ञानियमार्थं तदा न दोषो भवति ।

This is going to be discussed whether the *sūtra Tē prāg dhātōḥ* is for *prayōganiyama* or *saṁjñāniyama*. If it is for *prayōganiyama*, this *sūtra* is necessary to avoid *aniṣṭaśabda*. If it is for *saṁjñāniyama*, there will be no harm (if this *sūtra* is not read).

आदरानादरयोः सदसती (1, 4, 63)

इदमतिबहु क्रियते - आदरे अनादरे सदसद् इति । आदरे सत् इत्येव सिद्धम्

This *sūtra* is too long by reading *ādarē anādarē sad* and *asad* ; its purpose will be served by reading only *Ādarē sat*.

कथम् असत्कृत्य इति ?

How is it to arrive at the form *asatkṛtya* ?

तदन्तविधिना भविष्यति It is arrived at by *tadantavidhi*.

M. 18

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NOTE: - *Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Avyayasaṁjñāyām astyēva tadantavidhiḥ.*

केनेदानीमनादरे भविष्यति ?

By which will it be shown that it is *anādarē?*

नञा आदरप्रतिषेधं विज्ञास्यामः न आदरे अनादरे इति

We shall understand *ādarapratiṣēdha* through the negative particle *na* thus: *na ādarē=anādarē.*

नैवं शक्यम् । आदरप्रसङ्गे एव हि स्याद् अनादरप्रसङ्गे न स्यात् ।[1] अनादरग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे बहुव्रीहिरयं विज्ञायते अविद्यमानादरे अनादरे इति । तस्मादनादरग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । असतस्तु तदन्तविधिना सिद्धम् ।

This is not possible. It will be possible only when there is chance for *ādara* and not when there is chance for *anādara*. If *anādarē* is read, it may be taken to be *bahuvrīhi* thus:- *avidyamānaḥ ādaraḥ yasmin saḥ.* Hence there is need to read *anādarē.* The *kārya* of *asat* is achieved through *tadantavidhi.*

अन्तरपरिग्रहे (1, 4, 65)

अन्तःशब्दस्याङ्किविधिसमासणत्वेषूपसङ्ख्यानम्

Need to give the *saṁjñā* to the word *antar* with reference to *aṅ*, *kividhi*, *samāsa* and *ṇatva.*

अन्तःशब्दस्याङ्किविधिसमासणत्वेषूपसङ्ख्यानम् कर्तव्यम् - अङ् - अन्तर्द्धा ; किविधिः अन्तर्द्धिः ; समास - अन्तर्हत्य ; णत्वम् - अन्तर्हण्याद्गोभ्यो गाः

It must be added that *antar* takes *gati-saṁjñā* with reference to *aṅ*, *kividhi*, *samāsa* and *ṇatva*. *Viz.*, *antarddhā* (*aṇ*), *antarddhiḥ* (*kividhi*), *antarhatya* (*samāsa*) and *antarhaṇyāt* in *antarhaṇyād gōbhyō gāḥ* (*ṇatva*).

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च (1, 4, 74)

साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु च्व्यर्थवचनम्

Need to enjoin that *sākṣād* etc. take the *saṁjñā* only if there is the meaning of *cvi.*

1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here:-*Gurnm asatkṛtya ityādāu syāt, pākhaṇḍinam asatkṛtya ityēvamādāu na syāt.*

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साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु च्व्यर्थवचनं कर्तव्यम् । असाक्षात् साक्षात् कृत्वा साक्षात्कृत्य । यदि हि साक्षादेव सत् किञ्चित्क्रियते तदा मा भूत् इति ।

It must be stated that *sākṣāt* etc. take the *saṁjñā* only when there is the meaning of *cvi*. Hence *sākṣātkṛtya* is formed only when it gives the sense *asākṣāt sākṣāt kṛtvā* and not when something is done in *pratyakṣa*.

मकारान्तत्वं च गतिसंज्ञासंनियुक्तम्

Gatisaṁjñā to be given to *lavaṇa* only when it ends in *m*.

मकारान्तत्वं च गतिसंज्ञासंनियोगेन वक्तव्यम् - लवणङ्कृत्य

It must be stated that *gatisaṁjñā* and *makārāntatva* go together to secure the form *lavaṇaṅkṛtya*.

तत्र च च्विप्रतिषेधः Need to prohibit it if there is *cvi*.

तत्र च च्व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - लवणीकृत्य

There is need to prohibit *makārāntatva* to *cvyanta*. *Viz. lavaṇīkṛtya*.

न वा पूर्वेण कृतत्वात्

No, it need not be enjoined since it is accomplished by the previous one.

न वा वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be enjoined.

किं कारणम्? Why?

पूर्वेण कृतत्वात् - अस्तु अनेन विभाषा, पूर्वेण नित्यो भविष्यति

Since it is accomplished by the previous one (through *pūrva-prasaṅga-vijñāna*). Let there be *vibhāṣā* by this; but it becomes *nitya* by the previous *vārttika*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, मकारान्तत्वं च गतिसंज्ञासन्नियुक्तम् इत्युक्तं, तत् च्व्यन्तस्य मा भूद् इति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्; लवणशब्दस्यायं विभाषा लवणंशब्दः आदेशः क्रियते । यदि च लवणीशब्दस्यापि विभाषा लवणंशब्द आदेशो भवति, न किञ्चिद् दुष्यति । त्रैशब्द्यं चेह साध्यं, तच्चैवं सति सिद्धं भवति ।

If so, this is the *prayōjana* that *cvyanta* does not become *makārānta* with *gatisaṁjñā*. This is *vibhāṣā* to the word *lavaṇa* and its *ādēśa* is *lavaṇam*. If there is *vibhāṣā* to *lavaṇī-śabda* too, the word *lavaṇam* may come as the *ādēśa* and

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there will be no difficulty. Three formations (*lavaṇam kṛtvā*, *lavaṇam-kṛtya* and *lavaṇīkṛtya*) are here possible and thy are achieved under this interpretation.

ते प्राग्धातोः (1, 4, 80)

किमिदं प्राग्धातुवचनं प्रयोगनियमार्थम् - एते प्रागेव धातोः प्रयोक्तव्याः, आहोस्वित् संज्ञानियमार्थम् - एते प्राक् च अप्राक् च प्रयोक्तव्याः । प्राक् प्रयुज्यमानानां गतिसंज्ञा भवति इति ।

Does this expression *Prāg dhātōḥ* suggest *prayōga-niyama* that they must be used only before roots and not after roots or *saṁjñā-niyama* that they may used both before roots and after roots and that they get *gati-saṁjñā* only when they are used before roots.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What will be the difference here?

प्राग्धातुवचनं प्रयोगनियमार्थमिति चेदनुकरणस्येतिकरणपरप्रतिषेधोऽनिष्टशब्दनिवृत्त्यर्थः

If the expression *Prāg dhātōḥ* is for *prayōganiyama*, the *sūtra Anukaraṇam cānitiparam* (1, 4, 62) is necessary for *aniṣṭa-śabdanivṛtti.*

प्राग्धातुवचनं प्रयोगनियमार्थमिति चेदनुकरणस्येतिकरणपरप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If the expression *prāg dhātōḥ* is intended for *prayōga-niyama*, *itikaraṇa-para-pradiṣēdha* has to be stated with reference to *anukaraṇa*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why?

अनिष्टशब्दनिवृत्त्यर्थः - अनिष्टशब्दता मा भूदिति ।

For the sake of *aniṣṭaśabdanivṛtti*. So that there may not be *aniṣṭaśabdatā*.

छन्दसि परव्यवहितवचनं च

The *sūtras Chandasi parespi* and *Vyavahitāś ca* have to be read.

छन्दसि परेऽपि, व्यवहिताश्च इति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtras Chandasi parēspi* (1, 4, 81), and *Vyavahitāś ca*. (1, 4, 82) have to be read.

संज्ञानियमे सिद्धम्

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The above object is achieved if the *sūtra* is for *saṁjñā-niyama.*

संज्ञानियमे सति सिद्धमेतद् भवति

If it suggests *saṁjñā-niyama,* this object is achieved.

अस्तु तर्हि संज्ञानियमः Let it then suggest *saṁjñā-niyama.*

उभयोरनर्थकं वचनमनिष्टादर्शनात्

No need for both the *pakṣas* due to the absence of any *aniṣṭa.*

उभयोरपि पक्षयोर्वचनमनर्थकम्

There is no need to mention both the *pakṣas.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अनिष्टादर्शनात्

On account of the absence of anything in usage contrary to grammar.

न हि कश्चित् प्रपचतीति प्रयोक्तव्ये पचति प्र इति प्रयुङ्क्ते । यदि चानिष्टं दृश्येत ततो यत्नार्हं स्यात्

No one in the world makes use of *pacati pra* in place of *prapacati* ; Attempt has to be made only if any *aniṣṭa* is seen.

NOTE :—From this it is clear that *Vārttikakāra* has decided that this *sūtra* is unnecessary.

उपसर्जनसन्निपाते तु पूर्वपरव्यवस्थार्थम्

Need for this *sūtra* to decide which, of the two *upasarjanas* that come together, precedes and which follows.

उपसर्जनसन्निपाते तु पूर्वपरव्यवस्थार्थमेतद्वक्तव्यम् - ऋषभं कूलमुद्रुजम् ऋषभं कूलमुद्वहम् । अत्र गतेः प्राग्धातोः प्रयोगो यथा स्यात् ।

This *sūtra* has to be read to decide which, of the two *upasarjanas,* has to precede and which has to follow. In the words *kūlam-ud-rujam* and *kūlam-ud-vaham* in the expressions *Ṛṣabham kūlam-ud-rujam* and *Ṛṣabham kūlam-ud-vaham, ud* will precede *rujam* and *vaham* on account of this *sūtra.*

NOTE :—Otherwise doubt will arise whether *kūlam-ud-rujam* and *kūlam-ud-vaham* are the correct forms or *ut-kūlam-rujam* and *ut-kūlam-vaham* are correct ones, since both *kūla* and *ut* are *upapadas.*

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यद्युपसर्जनसन्निपाते पूर्वपरव्यवस्थार्थमिदमुच्यते सुकटङ्कराणि वीरणानि इत्यत्र गतेः प्राग्धातोः प्रयोगः प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said this *sūtra* is intended to decide the respective position of two *upasarjanas* which come together, there is chance for *su*, a *gati*, in *sukataṅkarāṇi* in the expression *sukataṅkaraṅāni vīraṇāni* to precede *karāṅi*.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नात्र गतेः प्राक्प्रयोगो भवति इति, यदयमीषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु खल् इति खकारमनुबन्धं करोति ।

The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that the *gati* is not used immediately before *karaṇāni*, since he reads *khal* with *kh* as *anubandha* in the *sūtra* *Īṣad-dus-suṣu kṛcchra-akṛcchrārthēṣu khal* (3, 3, 126).

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How is it *jñāpaka*?

खित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं खिति इति मुम् यथा स्यात् इति । यदि चात्र गतेः प्राक्प्रयोगः स्यात् खित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्त्वत्र मुम् । अनव्ययस्य इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र गतेः प्राग्धातोः प्रयोगो भवतीति, ततः खकारमनुबन्धं करोति ।

This is the *prayōjana* of *khitkaraṇa* that the *āgama mum* will set in on account of the *ānubandha* of *kh*. If *gati* here precedes *dhātu*, *khitkaraṇa* will be of no use. Since *Ācārya* reads *kh* as *anubandha*, he sees that *gati* does not precede *dhātu* here. Even if there is *mum* here, there will be *pratiṣēdha* by *anavyayasya* (6, 3, 66) *Ācārya* sees that *gati* does not precede *dhātu* here and hence has read the *anubandha kh*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । यद्यत्र गतेः प्राक् प्रयोगः स्यात्, स्यादेवात्र मुमागमः

This is not a *jñāpaka*. If *gati* is used before *dhātu*, there will be the *āgama mum* here.

कथम्? How?

कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति इति

By the *paribhāṣā Kṛdgrahaṇē gati-kāraka-pūrvasyāpi grahaṇam*.

तस्मान्नार्थ एवमर्थेन प्राग्धातुवचनेन

Hence there is no need to read this *sūtra* for the above purpose.

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कथम् ऋषभं कूलमुद्रुजम्, ऋषभं कूलमुद्वहम्

How are we to arrive at the forms *kūlam-ud-rujam* and *kūlam-ud-vaham* in the expressions *Ṛṣabham kūlam-ud-rujam* and *Ṛṣabham kūlam-ud-vaham*?

नैष दोषः । नैष उदिरुपपदम्

There is no difficulty here. This *ut* is not an *upapada*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

विशेषणम् । उदि कूले रुजिवहोः उत्पूर्वाभ्यां रुजिवहिभ्यां कूले उपपदे इति

It is *viśēṣaṇa*. It is taken thus:–*Udi kūlē rujivahōḥ*, which means, when *kūla* is *upapada* to *ruj* and *vaḥ* preceded by *ut*.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः (1, 4, 83)

किमर्थं महती संज्ञा क्रियते?

What is the need for this long *saṁjñā*?

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत - कर्म प्रोक्तवन्तः कर्मप्रवचनीया इति

So that it may be considered an *anvartha-saṁjñā*. *Karmapravacanīyas* are those that suggested *kriyāviśēṣa* when they were used with verbs?

के पुनः कर्म प्रोक्तवन्तः?

Which are those that suggested *kriyāviśēṣa* when they were used with verbs?

ये सम्प्रति क्रियां नाहुः

Those which do not now suggest *kriyāviśēṣa*.

के च संप्रति क्रियां नाहुः?

Which do not now suggest *kriyāviśēṣa*?

ये अप्रयुज्यमानस्य क्रियामाहुः, ते कर्मप्रवचनीयाः

Those which suggest the *sambandhaviśēṣa* of a *kriyā* which is not now used are *karmapravacanīyas*.

अनुर्लक्षणे (1, 4, 84)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते? What for is this *sūtra*?

कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्, गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे मा भूतामिति

So that it may get *karmapravacanīya-saṁjñā* and not *gati* and *upasarga saṁjñās*.

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NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* notes that this is not a correct answer and it is given to test the pupil's intelligence.

किं च स्यात्? What will happen if it gets *gati-saṁjñā?*

शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् । गतिर्गतौ इति निघातः प्रसज्येत

The word *anu* will get *sarvānudātta* by the *sūtra Gatir gatāu* (8, 1, 70) in the sentence *Śākalyasya saṁhitām anu prāvarṣat.*

यद्येवं वेरपि कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा वक्तव्या । वेरपि निघातो नेष्यते प्रादेशं विपरिलिखति

If so, *vi* in *Prādēśam viparilikhati* has to be given *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* since *anudāttatva* is not desired for it.

अस्त्यत्र विशेषः । नात्र वेर्लिखिं प्रति क्रियायोगः

There is a difference here; there is no *kriyāyōga* for *vi* with *likh* here.

किं तर्हि? With what then?

अप्रयुज्यमानं - प्रादेशं विमाय परिलिखति

With that which is not used, (so that the above sentence means) *prādēśam vimāya parilikhati.*

यद्येवम् अनोरपि कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञया नार्थः । अनोरपि हि न वृषिं प्रति क्रियायोगः

If so, no purpose is served by enjoining *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* to *anu* too; for there is no *kriyāyōga* for *anu* with *vṛṣ.*

किं तर्हि? With what then?

अप्रयुज्यमानं - शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्

With that which is not used, (so that the sentence means) *Śākalyēna sukṛtām saṁhitām anuniśamya dēvaḥ prāvarṣat.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, द्वितीया यथा स्यात् कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that there will set in *dvitīyā* on the strength of the *sūtra Karmapravacanīyayuktē dvitīyā.*

अत उत्तरं पठति Then he reads the answer.

अनुर्लक्षणे वचनानर्थक्यं सामान्यकृतत्वात्

Non-necessity of the *sūtra Anur lakṣaṇē,* on account of its purpose being served by the *sāmānyasūtra.*

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अनुर्लक्षणेवचनमनर्थकम्

The *sūtra Anur lakṣaṇē* serves no purpose.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

सामान्यकृतत्वात् - सामान्येनैवात्र कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भविष्यति लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः इति

On account of its purpose being served by the *sāmānyasūtra*. *Karmapravacanīya-saṁjñā* is secured here by the *samānya-sūtra Lakṣaṇētthambhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu pratiparyanavaḥ* (1, 4, 90).

हेत्वर्थं तु वचनम् This *sūtra* is, then, intended for the sake of *hētu*.

हेत्वर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम् - हेतुः शाकल्यस्य संहिता वर्षस्य, न लक्षणम्

This has to be said so that *hētu* may take the *saṁjñā*. *Śākala-saṁhitā* is the *hētu* for the rain and not *lakṣaṇa*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ?

Is there any necessity to advance this line of argument?

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Hētōr lakṣaṇam nāstīti kiṁ paribhāṣitavyam iti pṛcchati*.

न हि No, there is no necessity.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते ?

How is it to be understood without its being specifically stated?

लक्षणं हि नाम स भवति येन पुनः पुनर्लक्ष्यते, न यः सकृदपि निमित्तत्वाय कल्पते । सकृच्चासौ शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहिताम् अनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ।

Lakṣaṇa is that which is seen frequently associated with an object and not that which is once seen as a *nimitta*. The *dēva* rained on hearing the well-made *saṁhitā* of *Śākalya* only once.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्योऽनुर्हेताविति

If so, the *sūtra* should be changed to *Anur hētāu*.

अथेदानीं लक्षणेन हेतुरपि व्याप्तः, नार्थोऽनेन ?

Is not this unnecessary since *hētu* too is within the range of *lakṣaṇa*?

लक्षणेन हेतुरपि व्याप्तः । न ह्यवश्यं तदेव लक्षणं भवति येन पुनः पुनर्लक्ष्यते

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Yes, *hētu* is within the range of *lakṣaṇa*; for it is not necessary to define *lakṣaṇa* only as *yēna punaḥ punar lakṣyatē*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

यत्सकृदपि निमित्तत्वाय कल्पते तदपि लक्षणं भवति । तद्यथा - अपि भवान् कमण्डलुपाणिं छात्रमद्राक्षीत् इति । सकृदसौ कमण्डलुपाणिश्छात्रो दृष्टस्तस्य तदेव लक्षणं भवति ।

Even that becomes a *lakṣaṇa* which serves as *nimitta* once. This may be illustrated thus:–The question whether you saw the pupil with *kamaṇḍalu* in his hand arises on seeing the pupil only once with *kamaṇḍalu* in his hand.

तदेव तर्हि प्रयोजनं द्वितीया यथा स्यात् कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया इति

If so, this is the *prayōjana* that it gets *dvitīyā* by the *sūtra Karmapravacanīyayuktē dvitīyā*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । सिद्धात्र द्वितीया कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते इत्येव ।

This too is not the *prayōjana*, since *dvitīyā* has already been accomplished by *Karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā* (2, 3, 8).

न सिध्यति । परत्वात् हेत्वाश्रया तृतीया प्राप्नोति

No, it cannot be accomplished. *Tṛtīyā* will chance to come by the *sūtra Hētāu* (2, 3, 23), since it is para.

आङ्मर्यादावचने (1, 4, 89)

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः

The *sūtra* has to be recast *Āṅ maryādābhividhyōḥ*.

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योरिति वक्तव्यम् । इहापि यथा स्यात् आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः इति ।

The *sūtra* must be read *Āṅ maryādābhividhyōḥ*, so that it may operate on *ākumāram* in the expression *Ākumāram yaśaḥ Pāṇinēḥ* (*Paṇini's* fame was known even to young boys).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It should, then, be read so,

न वक्तव्यम् । मर्यादावचने इत्येव सिद्धम् । एषा अस्य यशसो मर्यादा

No, it need not. It is accomplished by the statement *maryādāvacanē*. This is the limit where his fame has spread.

NOTE:—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here to explain the difference of opinion in the interpretation of the word *maryādā* between

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Vārttikakara and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*:- *Vinā tēna iti maryādā, saha tēna iti abhividhir ityarthabhēdam matvā vārttikam paṭhati ... vacanagrahaṇasya idam prayōjanam avāntarabhēdaparihārēṇa paricchēdahētumātram maryādā yathā gṛhyēta.*

NOTE :—2. The statement *Ākumāram yaśaḥ Pāṇinēḥ* suggests that, at *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* time, even young boys were informed of *Pāṇini's* greatness.

लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः (1, 4, 90)

कस्य लक्षणादयोऽर्था निर्दिश्यन्ते ?

With reference to whom are *lakṣaṇādi's* taken?

वृक्षादीनाम् With reference to *vṛkṣādis*.

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this *sūtra* read?

कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा यथा स्यात् गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे मा भूतामिति

So that they may get *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* and not *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasargasaṁjñā*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । यत्क्रियायुक्तास्तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतो न च वृक्षादीन् प्रति क्रियायोगः

No, this is not the *prayōjana*. *Gati* and *upasarga* are only with reference to the verbs with which they are associated and there is no *kriyāyōga* with reference to *vṛkṣādis*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं द्वितीया यथा स्यात्, कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया इति, वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते, वृक्षमनु विद्योतते

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that *dvitīyā* sets in on the strength of the *sūtra Karmapravacanīyayuktē dvitīyā*, so that we have the following expressions *Vṛkṣam prati vidyōtatē* and *vṛkṣam anu vidyōtatē*.

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ (1, 4, 93)

किमर्थमधिपर्योरनर्थकयोः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा उच्यते ?

Why is *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* enjoined to *adhi* and *pari* which suggest no meaning?

कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा यथा स्याद् गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे मा भूताम् इति

So that *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* may be secured and *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasarga-saṁjñā* may be avoided.

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नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, यत्क्रियायुक्तौ तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञौ भवतः अनर्थकौ चेमौ

This is not the *prayōjana*. *Gati-saṁjñā* and *upasarga-saṁjñā* set in only with reference to verbs with which they are used. These two have no meaning.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्, पञ्चमी यथा स्यात् पञ्चम्याङ्परिभिः इति, कुतः पर्यागम्यते इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that *pañcamī* may be used on the authority of the *sūtra Pañcamyāṅ-paribhiḥ* (2, 3, 10), so that we may have the expression *kutaḥ paryāgamyatē*.

सिद्धात्र पञ्चम्यपादाने इत्येव । आतश्च अपादानपञ्चम्येव, यत्र अधिशब्देन योगे पञ्चमी न विधीयते, तत्रापि श्रूयते कुतोऽध्यागम्यते इति

Pañcamī can be secured here by the *sūtra Apādānē pañcamī* (2, 3, 28). There is another reason also to take it to be *apādānapañcamī*, since *pañcamī* is used in the expression *kutō adhyāgamyatē* (where *adhi* suggests change in the meaning of the *dhātu gam*) for which there is no authority other than *Apādānē pañcamī*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदनर्थकयोर्गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाबाधिकां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञां, शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनर्थकानामप्येषां भवत्यर्थवत्कृतम् इति

Since, then, *Ācārya* enjoins *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* to set at naught *gatisaṁjñā* and *upasarga-saṁjñā* to the two which suggest no meaning even though *pañcamī* is *siddhā* by another *sūtra*, he suggests that even those that are *anarthakas* do the same duty as that of the *arthakas*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

निपातस्यानर्थकस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वं चोदितं तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति

The discussion regarding the *prātipadikatva* of *nipātas* which are *anarthaka* (by the *Vārttikakāra*) need not be done (in pp. 94 & 95 of Vol. IV).

अथ वा नेमावनर्थकौ Or these two are not *anarthakas*.

किं तर्हि ? अनर्थकौ इत्युच्यते !

What then? They are stated to be *anarthaka*.

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अनर्थान्तरवाचिनावनर्थकौ । धातुनोक्तां क्रियामाहुः । तदविशिष्टं भवति, यथा शङ्खे पयः ।

The word *anarthakāu* means *those that have no other prayōjana*. They denote the same *kriyā* denoted by the root. They become one with *dhātu* as water poured into conch-shell.

यद्येवं धातुनोक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य उपसर्गप्रयोगो न प्राप्नोति उक्तार्थानामप्रयोगः इति

If so, there is no chance to use the *upasarga* since its meaning is expressed by the root on the strength of the dictum *Uktārthānām aprayōgaḥ*.

उक्तार्थानामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । तद्यथा - अपूपौ द्वावानय, ब्राह्मणौ द्वावानय इति ।

Even the use of words whose meaning has been expressed is seen (in the world). *Viz., Apūpāu dvāu ānaya, Brāhmaṇāu dvāu ānaya.*

NOTE :—The meaning of *dvāu* in the above two examples is expressed by *āu* in *apūpāu* and *brāhmaṇāu*.

अपिः पदार्थसम्भावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु (1, 4, 96)

इह कस्मान्न भवति सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् गोमूत्रस्यापि स्यात् ?

Why does it not take effect in the words *sarpiṣaḥ* and *gōmūtrasya* of the expressions *Sarpiṣōspi syāt* and *Gōmūtrasyāpi syāt* (as it has taken effect in the *niṣēdha* of *ṣatva* in *syāt*)? (i. e.) Why is not *dvitīya* used in place of *sarpiṣaḥ* and *gōmūtrasya* by the *sūtra Karmapravacanīyayuktē dvitīyā* ?

किं च स्यात् ? What will take place there?

द्वितीयापि प्रसज्येत कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया इति

Dvitīyā, too, will set in by *Karmapravacanīyayuktē dvitīyā*.

नैष दोषः, नेमे अप्यर्थाः निर्दिश्यन्ते

This difficulty does not arise; for these are not mentioned as the *arthas* of *api*.

किं तर्हि ? Whose *arthas* are they then ?

परपदार्था इमे निर्दिश्यन्ते । एतेष्वर्थेषु यत्पदं वर्तते तत्प्रति अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति इति ।

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These are mentioned as the *arthas* of another (i. e.) *syāt.* The word *api* takes *karmapravacanīyasaṁjñā* with reference to that word whose meaning is suggested here (i. e.) the word *bindu.* (drop.)

अथ वा यदत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्तं नादः प्रयुज्यते

Or the word associated with the *karmapravacanīya api* is not used here.

किं पुनस्तत् ? What is it?

बिन्दुः The word *bindu.*

बिन्दोस्तर्हि कस्मान्न भवति ? Why is not *dvitīyā* used with *bindu*?

उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी इति प्रथमा भविष्यति इति

Prathamā is used after *bindu* on the basis of the dictum *Upapadavibhaktēḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī.* (i. e.) *Svatantraḥ kartā* is stronger here than *Karmapravanīyayuktē dvitīyā.*

अधिरीश्वरे (1, 4, 97)

अधिरीश्वरवचने उक्तम् [1]

It has been said with reference to the *sūtra Adhirīśvarē.*

किमुक्तम् ? What has been said?

यस्य चेश्वरवचनमिति कर्तृनिर्देशश्चेदवचनात् सिद्धम्, प्रथमानुपपत्तिस्तु, स्ववचनात्सिद्धम् इति

The *vārttikas–Yasya cēśvaravacanam iti kartṛnirdēśaś cēd avacanāt siddham, Prathamānupapattis tu,* and *Svavacanāt siddham* (under the *sūtra Yasmād adhikam yasya cēśvaravacanam* (2, 3, 9)

अधिः स्वं प्रति कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtra* should be modified into *Adhiḥ svē.*

लः परस्मैपदम् (1, 4, 99)

लादेशे परस्मैपदग्रहणं पुरुषबाधितत्वात्

1. All editions read *Adhir īśvaravacanē uktam* as a *vārttika.* It has been so read perhaps on the strength of *Kāiyaṭa's* statement *Vakṣyamāṇānām api buddhyā nirūpitatvād uktam iti uktam.* If it is taken as *bhāṣya, uktam* is correct, since the *Vārttikas* on the whole of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* existed before *Maābhāṣhya* was written.

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Need to read *parasmāipada* in the *lādēśaprakaraṇa* (3, 4, 77 to the end of the *pāda*), on account of its being set at naught by *puruṣa*.

लादेशे परस्मैपदग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

There is need to read *parasmāipada* in *lādēśaprakaraṇa*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

पुरुषबाधितत्वात्

On account of its being set at naught by *puruṣa*.

इह वचने हि संज्ञाबाधनम् *Saṁjñā-bādhana* if it is read here.

इह हि क्रियमाणेऽनवकाशा पुरुषसंज्ञा परस्मैपदसंज्ञां बाधेत

For, if it is read here, it will be set at naught by *puruṣa-saṁjñā* on account of its being *anavakāśa*.

परस्मैपदसंज्ञाप्यनवकाशा, सा वचनाद्भविष्यंति

Parasmāipada-saṁjñā, too, is *anavakaśa* and hence it sets in on account of its mention.

सावकाशा परस्मैपदसंज्ञा *Parasmāipada-saṁjñā* is *sāvakāśā*.

कोऽवकाशः Where is the room for it to operate ?

शतृक्वसू अवकाशः Both *śatṛ* and *kvasu* are *avakāśas*.

सिचि वृद्धौ तु परस्मैपदग्रहणं ज्ञापकं पुरुषाबाधकस्य

Reading of *parasmāipada* in the *sūtra Sici vṛddhiḥ parasmāi-padēṣu* is *jnāpaka* for *puruṣa* not setting at naught the *parasmāipadatva*.

यदयं सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु इति परस्मैपदग्रहणं करोति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो न पुरुषसंज्ञा परस्मैपदसंज्ञां बाधते इति

Since *Ācārya* has read *parasmāipada* in the *sūtra Sici vṛddhiḥ parasmāipadēṣu* (7, 2, 1), he suggests that *puruṣasaṁjñā* does not set *parasmāipadasaṁjñā* at naught.

तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः (1, 4, 101)

प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञायामात्मनेपदग्रहणं समसङ्ख्यार्थम्

Need to read *ātmanēpada* in the *sūtra* enjoining the *saṁjñās prathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama* to enable the *saṁjñās* and *saṁjñins* to be of the same number.

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प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञायामात्मनेपदग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । आत्मनेपदानां च प्रथम-मध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्तीति वक्तव्यम्

Ātmanēpada must be read in the *sūtra* enjoining the *saṁjñās prathama, madhyama* and *uttama*. It must be read that *ātmanēpadas* too take the *saṁjñās prathama, madhyama* and *uttama*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

समसङ्ख्यार्थम् - सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो यथा स्यात्

For the sake of the same number (in *saṁjñās* and *saṁjñins*), so that *Yathāsaṅkhyaśāstra* may operate.

अक्रियमाणे ह्यात्मनेपदग्रहणे तिस्रः संज्ञाः षट् संज्ञिनः । वैषम्यात् सङ्ख्याता-नुदेशो न स्यात् ।

For, if *ātmanēpada* is not read, *saṁjñās* will be three and *saṁjñins* will be six. *Yathāsaṅkhyaśāstra* cannot operate on account of the unevenness of the number in *saṁjñās* and *saṁjñins*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि चात्मनेपदग्रहणे Even if *ātmanēpada* is read,

आनुपूर्व्यवचनम् Need to read *ānupūrvya*.

आनुपूर्व्यवचनं च कर्तव्यम् । अक्रियमाणे हि कस्यचिदेव त्रिकस्य प्रथमसंज्ञा स्यात्, कस्यचिदेव मध्यमसंज्ञा, कस्यचिदेवोत्तमसंज्ञा ।

The word *ānupūrvya* too is to be read. If it is not read, *prathamasaṁjñā* may take hold of any three, *madhyamasaṁjñā* of another three and *uttamasaṁjñā* of the remaining three.

न वैकशेषनिर्देशात् No, it cannot be on account of *ēkaśēṣanirdēśa*.

यत्तावदुच्यते आत्मनेपदग्रहणं कर्तव्यं समसङ्ख्यार्थमिति तन्न कर्तव्यम् । संज्ञा अपि षडेव निर्दिश्यन्ते ।

Firstly with reference to the statement *Ātmanēpadagrahaṇam kartavyam samasaṅkhyārtham*, it need not be read; for the *saṁjñās* too that are mentioned here are six.

कथम् ? How ?

एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम्

This (*prathama, madhyama* and *uttama*) is *ēkaśēṣa*.

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अथैतस्मिन्नेकशेषनिर्देशे सति किमियं कृतैकशेषाणां द्वन्द्वः, - प्रथमश्च प्रथमश्च प्रथमौ, मध्यमश्च मध्यमश्च मध्यमौ, उत्तमश्च उत्तमश्च उत्तमौ, प्रथमौ च मध्यमौ चोत्तमौ च प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः इति, आहोस्वित् कृतद्वन्द्वानामेकशेषः - प्रथमश्च मध्यमश्च उत्तमश्च प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः, प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाश्च प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाश्च प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः इति ।

Is it, in the *ēkaśēṣanirdēśa*, the *dvandva* of *ēkaśēṣas* or the *ēkaśēṣa* of *dvandvas*, the former assuming the form—*prathamaś ca prathamaś ca = prathamāu, madhyamaś ca madhyamaś ca = madhyamāu, uttamaś ca uttamaś ca = uttamāu, prathamāu ca madhyamāu ca uttamāu ca = prathamamadhyamōttamāḥ.* and the latter assuming the form *prathamaś ca madhyamaś ca uttamaś ca = prathamamadhyamōttamāḥ, prathamamadhyamōttamāś ca prathamamadhyamōttamāś ca=prathamamadhyamōttamāḥ*?

किं चातः ? What is the difference ?

यदि कृतैकशेषाणां द्वन्द्वः प्रथममध्यमयोः प्रथमसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, उत्तमप्रथमयोर्मध्यमसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, मध्यमोत्तमयोरुत्तमसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति, अथ कृतद्वन्द्वानामेकशेषो न दोषो भवति

If *ēkaśēṣa* is first done and then *dvandva*, there is chance for *prathamasaṁjñā* to the *prathama* and the *madhyama*, *madhyamasaṁjñā* to the *uttama* and the *prathama* and *uttamasaṁjñā* to the *madhyama* and the *uttama* and if, on the other hand, *dvandva* is first done and then *ēkaśēṣa*, there will be no harm.

यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in the way in which there is no defect.

किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् ? Which is legitimate here ?

उभयमित्याह ; उभयं हि दृश्यते । तद्यथा बहु शक्तिकिटिकम्, बहूनि शक्तिकिटिकानि ; बहु स्थालीपिठरं, बहूनि स्थालीपिठराणि

"Both", says he ; for both are seen. *Viz. Bahu śaktikiṭikam, bahūni śaktikiṭikāni ; bahu sthālīpiṭharam, bahūni sthālīpiṭharāṇi*

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽप्यात्मनेपदग्रहणे आनुपूर्व्यवचनं कर्तव्यमिति, न कर्तव्यम् । लोकत एतत् सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके विहव्यस्य द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामग्निरुपस्थेय इति, न चोच्यते आनुपूर्व्येण इति । आनुपूर्व्येण चोपस्थीयत इति ।

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With reference to the statement—that *ānupūrvya* has to be read even if *ātmanēpada* is read, it need not be read. It is accomplished from the procedure seen in the world. We see the statement in the world that *agni* is to be invoked by every two *ṛks* in the *sūkta* named *vihavya* (R. V. X, 128) without the word *ānupūrvya* and the *ṛks* are pronounced only in the respective order.

विभक्तिश्च (1, 4, 104)

त्रीणि त्रीणि इत्यनुवर्तते उताहो न ?

Is there *anuvṛtti* for *trīṇi trīṇi* or no ?

किं चातः ?

What will be the difference whether there is *anuvṛtti* or not ?

यदि अनुवर्तते अष्टन आ विभक्तौ इत्यात्वं न प्राप्नोति

If there is *anuvṛtti*, *ātva* by the *sūtra Aṣṭana ā vibhaktāu* (7, 2, 84) has no chance to set in.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Na hi aṣṭanśabdāt paraṁ yugapat trikam asti.*

अथ निवृत्तं प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः इत्यत्र प्रत्ययोरेव ग्रहणं प्राप्नोति

If there is no *anuvṛtti*, the word *prathamayōḥ* in the *sūtra Prathamayōḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* (6, 1, 102) will refer only to two suffixes of the nominative case.

यथेच्छसि तथास्तु Let it be as you are pleased to take it.

अस्तु तावदनुवर्तते इति

First let it be taken that there is *anuvṛtti*.

ननु चोक्तम् अष्टन आ विभक्तौ इत्यात्वं न प्राप्नोति इति

Oh ! it has been said that *ātva* by the *sūtra Aṣṭana ā vibaktāu* has no chance to set in.

वचनाद्भविष्यति It sets in on account of its mention.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु निवृत्तम्

Or let it be taken that there is no *anuvṛtti*.

ननु चोक्तं प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः इत्यत्र प्रत्यययोरेव ग्रहणं प्राप्नोति इति

Oh ! it has been said that the word *prathamayōḥ* in the *sūtra Prathamayōḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* will refer only to two suffixes of the nominative case.

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नैष दोषः । अचि इत्यनुवर्तते । न च अजादीं प्रथमौ प्रत्ययौ स्तः

This difficulty does not arise. The word *aci* is taken here by *auuvṛtti* from the *sūtra*. *Ikō yaṇ aci* (6, 1, 77). Both the first suffixes of the nominative case do not commence with a vowel. (But only the second of them is so.)

ननु चैवं विज्ञायते - अजादी यौ प्रथमौ, अजादीनां वा यौ प्रथमौ इति

Oh, it is thus explained :—the first two suffixes commencing with a vowel or the first two among the suffixes commencing with a vowel.

NOTE :—In both the cases there will be *grahaṇa* to *āu* and *as* of the nominative case.

यर्त्ताहि तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि इत्यनुक्रान्तं पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घं प्रतिनिर्दिशति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो विभक्त्योर्ग्रहणम् इति । अथवा वचनग्रहणमेव कुर्यात् औजसोः पूर्वसवर्णः इति

Ācārya (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that the word *prathamayōḥ* denotes the first two cases, since he reads the *sūtra Tasmāc chasō naḥ puṁsi* (6, 1, 103) depending upon the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* in the second case plural. Otherwise he would have read the *sūtra Āujasōḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads here :-*Siddhāntē tu trikasya vibhaktitvē avayavadharmavibhaktitvasya trikē ārōpē vā yāugikā ēva tē vyavahārāḥ sambhavanti iti tāḥ saṁjñāḥ sūtrakṛtā na kṛtā iti pratīmaḥ.*

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः (1, 4, 105)

अस्मद्युत्तमः (1. 4. 107), शेषे प्रथमः (1, 4, 108)

There are *five* topics dealt with here :-(1) Is this *sūtra* a *vidhi* or a *niyama ?* (2) If it is the latter, is there *upapadaniyama* or *puruṣaniyama* ? (3) What should be the verb if the subject is, *Tvaṁ ca Dēvadattaś ca* and *Ahaṁ ca Dēvadattaś ca*? (4) What should be the nature of the verb after *paramatvam tvattaraḥ*, *tvadrūpaḥ*, *tvatkalpaḥ*, *atitvam* etc.? (5) Which is correct either *tvadbhavati* and *madbhavati* or *tvadbhavasi* and *madbhavāmi* ?

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I

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

What is the purpose served by this *sūtra* ? (Is it *vidhāna* or *niyama* ?

NOTE :–*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Kiṁ lādēśa-vidhāna-vākyēna ēkavākyatvāt vidhyartham idam, artha vihitēṣu lādēśēṣu niyamārtham idam iti praśnaḥ.*

युष्मदस्मच्छेषवचनं नियमार्थम्

Reading of *yuṣmad, asmad* and *śēṣa* is for the sake of *niyama.*

नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः This attempt is for the sake of *niyama*.

II

अथैतस्मिन्नियमार्थे विज्ञायमाने किमयमुपपदनियमः - युष्मदि मध्यम एव, अस्मदि उत्तम एव, आहोस्वित् पुरुषनियमः - युष्मद्येव मध्यमः, अस्मद्येव उत्तम इति ?

After it is decided that this attempt is for the sake of *niyama*, it is to be seen whether it is *upapadaniyama* that, along with *yuṣmad*, only the second personal termination is used after the root and that, along with *asmad*, only the first personal termination is used after the roots or whether it is *puruṣa-niyama* that only with *yuṣmad* the second personal termination is used after the root and that only with *asmad* the first termination is used after the root.

किं चातः ? What will be the difference if it is this or that ?

यदि पुरुषनियमः शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं शेषे प्रथमः इति

If it is *puruṣa-niyama*, there is need for the *sūtra Śēṣē prathamaḥ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

मध्यमोत्तमौ नियतौ, युष्मदस्मदी अनियते, तत्र प्रथमोऽपि प्राप्नोति । तत्र शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं प्रथमनियमार्थं, शेष एव प्रथमो भवति नान्यत्रेति

The second personal termination and the first personal termination are restricted in their scope, but *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are not restricted in their scope and hence there is chance for the first personal termination to be used with verbs after them. Hence there is need for the *sūtra Sēṣē prathamaḥ* to

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restrict the scope of the third personal termination that it is used after verbs only after words other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

अथाप्युपपदनियमः, एवमपि शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं शेषे प्रथम इति । युष्मदस्मदी नियते मध्यमोत्तमावनियतौ, तौ शेषेऽपि प्राप्नुतः । तत्र शेषग्रहणं कर्तव्यं शेषनियमार्थं शेषे प्रथम एव भवति नान्य इति ।

Even if it is taken as *upapadaniyama*, there is need for the *sūtra Śēṣē prathamaḥ*. *Yuṣmad* and *asmad* are restricted in their scope, but not the second personal termination and the first personal termination and so they may be used along with words other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Therefore there is need for the *sūtra Śēṣē prathamaḥ* to restrict the scope of *śēṣa*, so that only the third personal termination may be used after verbs along with words other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

उपपदनियमे शेषग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्[1]

It is possible to dispense with the word *Śēṣē* if it is taken as *upapadaniyama*.

कथम्? How?

युष्मदस्मदी नियते, मध्यमोत्तमौ अनियतौ, तौ शेषेऽपि प्राप्नुतः । ततो वक्ष्यामि प्रथमो भवतीति । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति - यत्र प्रथमश्च अन्यश्च प्राप्नोति तत्र प्रथम एव भवतीति ।

Yuṣmad and *asmad* are restricted in their scope and *madhyama* and *uttama* are *aniyata* and they have a chance to be used after verbs with words other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Then shall I read *Prathamō bhavati*. It will be taken as a *niyama* that, where both *prathama* and others have a chance to appear, only the *prathama* appears.

III

तत्र युष्मदस्मदन्येषु[2] प्रथमप्रतिषेधः शेषत्वात्

1. This is read as a *vārttika* by Sri Guruprasada Sastri.

2. In the extant editions, *yuṣmad asmadanyēṣu* is taken to mean with reference to *yuṣmad* and *anya* and *asmad* and *anya*; but it seems to me that *yuṣmad*, *asmad* and *anya* too may be added.

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In both the *niyamas* there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *prathama* on the authority of *Śēṣē prathamaḥ* when the subject is *yuṣmad* and *anya* and *asmad* and *anya.*

तत्र युष्मदस्मदन्येषु प्रथमस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, त्वं च देवदत्तश्च पचथः, अहं च देवदत्तश्च पचावः [1]

In both the *niyamas* there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *prathama* with reference to *yuṣmad* and *anya* and *asmad* and *anya.*

So that the following expressions can be had :–*Tvam ca Dēvadattaś ca pacathaḥ* ; *Aham ca Dēvadattaś ca pacāvaḥ.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

शेषत्वात् । शेषे प्रथम इति प्रथमः प्राप्नोति

Since they are other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad.* There is chance for *prathama* to be used there on the authority of *Śēṣē prathamaḥ.*

सिद्धं तु युष्मदस्मदोः प्रतिषेधात्

The object is achieved by prohibiting *yuṣmad* and *asmad.*

सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

युष्मदस्मदोः प्रतिषेधात् । शेषे प्रथमः, युष्मदस्मदोर्नेति वक्तव्यम्

On account of the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *yuṣmad* and *asmad.* After the *sūtra Śēṣē prathamaḥ, Yuṣmadasmadōr na* should be read.

युष्मदिमध्यमादस्मद्युत्तमो विप्रतिषेधेन

The *sūtra Asmadyuttamaḥ* wins over *Yuṣmadimadhyamaḥ* by *vipratiṣēdha.*

युष्मदिमध्यमात् अस्मद्युत्तम इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । युष्मदि मध्यमः इत्यस्य अवकाशः त्वं पचसि, अस्मद्युत्तम इत्यस्यावकाशः अहं पचामि, इहोभयं प्राप्नोति त्वं च अहं च पचावः । अस्मद्युत्तम इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

Asmadyuttamaḥ wins over *yuṣmadi madhyamaḥ* by *vipratiṣēdha. Yuṣmadi madhyamaḥ* plays its part in *Tvam pacasi* and

1. It is to be seen whether any manuscript reads after this *Tvam ca aham ca Dēvadattaś co pacāmaḥ.*

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Asmadi uttamaḥ plays its part in *Aham pacāmi.* Both have a chance to play their parts where the subject is both *tvam* and *ahaṃ* as in *Tvam ca aham ca pacāvaḥ. Asmadi uttamaḥ* plays its part here in preference to *Yuṣmadi madhyamaḥ* by the *śāstra Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam.*

स तर्हि विप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ?

Is it then necessary to arrive at it by the *vipratiṣēdha?*

न वक्तव्यः No, it need not be arrived at by it.

त्यदादीनां यद्यत्परं तत्तत् शिष्यते इत्येवम् अस्मदः शेषो भविष्यति । तत्र अस्मद्युत्तम इत्येव सिद्धम्

Asmad may be considered to be the *śēṣa* on the strength of the statement *Tyadādīnām yad param tattat śiṣyatē* and the object is achieved by *Asmadyuttamaḥ.*

अनेकशेषभावार्थं तु

Need for resorting to *vipratiṣēdha* in places where there is no *ēkaśēṣa.*

अनेकशेषभावार्थं तु स विप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यो यदा चैकशेषो न

There is need to resort to the *vipratiṣēdha* in places where there is no *ēkaśēṣa.*

कदा चैकशेषो न

Under which circumstances is *ēkaśēṣa* not found ?

सहविवक्षायामेकशेषः, यदा न सहविवक्षा तदैकशेषो नास्ति

There is *ēkaśēṣa* (*āvām* for *tvam ca aham ca*) when there is *sahavivakṣā,* (collective denotation) and where there is no *sahavivakṣā,* there is no *ēkaśēṣa.*

न वा, युष्मदस्मदोरनेकशेषभावात् तदधिकरणानामप्यनेकशेषभावादविप्रतिषेधः

No, it is not necessary to resort to *vipratiṣēdha* since there is no *ēkaśēṣa* for the verbs which have their *adhikaraṇas* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* if there is no *ēkaśēṣa* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad.*

न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन

No, there is no necessity to take recourse to *vipratiṣēdha.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

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युष्मदस्मदोरनेकशेषभावात् तदधिकरणानामपि - युष्मदस्मदधिकरणानामपि, एकशेषेण न भवितव्यम् । त्वं च अहं च पचसि च पचामि च इति ।

There is no *ēkaśēṣa* for the verbs which have their *adhikaraṇas* in *yuṣmad* and *asmad* on account of the absence of *ēkaśēṣa* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. *Viz. Tvaṁ ca ahaṁ ca pacasi ca pacāmi ca.*

NOTE:—*Tadadhikaraṇānām* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and hence *tadadhikaraṇa* refers to the *kriyā* whose *adhikarṇa* is the subject. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* justifies the use of the plural in *tadadhikaraṇānām* instead of the dual by the statement *anēkayuṣmad-asmacchabdaprayōgābhiprāyēṇa.*

क्रियापृथक्त्वे च द्रव्यपृथक्त्वदर्शनमनुमानमुत्तरत्रानेकशेषभावस्य

The use of different subjects after different predicates suggests the absence of *ēkaśēṣa* in the following verbs.

क्रियापृथक्त्वे च द्रव्यपृथक्त्वं दृश्यते, तद्यथा पचसि च पचामि च त्वं चाहं च इति । तदनुमानमुत्तरयोरपि क्रिययोरेकशेषो न भवतीति । एवं च कृत्वा सोप्यदोषो भवति यदुक्तं 'तत्र युष्मदस्मदन्येषु प्रथमप्रतिषेधः शेषत्वात्' इति; तत्रापि ह्येवं भवितव्यं - त्वं च देवदत्तश्च पचसि च पचति च, अहं च देवदत्तश्च पचामि च पचति च इति ।

It is seen that different subjects are used if the predicates are differently used at first; *Viz. Pacasi ca pacāmi ca tvaṁ ca ahaṁ ca.* It serves as *anumāna* for the absence of *ēkaśēṣa* in verbs if they follow the subjects. On this basis the statement '*Tatra yuṣmad-asmad-anyēṣu prathamapratiṣēdhaḥ śēṣatvāt* need not be made, since the verbs con be similarly used thereto thus:-*Tvaṁ ca Dēvadattaś ca pacasi ca pacati ca* and *Ahaṁ ca Dēvadattaś ca pacāmi ca pacati ca.*

यत्तावदुच्यते न वा युष्मदस्मदोरनेकशेषभावात्तदधिकरणानामप्यनेकशेषभावादविप्रतिषेधः इति, दृश्यते हि युष्मदस्मदोश्च अनेकशेषः तदधिकरणानां चैकशेषः, तद्यथा त्वं चाहं च वृत्रहन्नुभौ संपयुज्यावहै [1] इति

1. But in the text of the *Ṛgvēdasaṁhitā* the reading is slightly different :—अहं च त्वं च वृत्रहन्त्संयुज्याव (R. V. 8, 51, 41)

संप्रयुज्यावहै is the reading of Sri Guruprasda Sastri's edition and संप्रयुज्यावहै of Pandurang Javaji's edition.

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With reference to the first statement made *Na vā yuṣmad-asmadōr anēkaśēṣabhāvāt tad-adhikaraṇānām api anēkaśēṣa-bhāvād avipratiṣēdhaḥ*, it is seen on actual usage *anēkaśēṣa* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* and *ēkaśēṣa* of the verbs that follow. *Viz. Tvaṁ ca ahaṁ ca Vṛtraham ubhāu samprayujyāvahāi.*

यदप्युच्यते क्रियापृथक्त्वे च द्रव्यपृथक्त्वदर्शनमनुमानमुत्तरत्रानेकशेषभावस्य इति क्रियापृथक्त्वे खल्वपि द्रव्यैकशेषो भवतीति दृश्यते, तद्यथा - अक्षाः भज्यन्तां भक्ष्यन्तां दीव्यन्ताम् इति

With reference to the other statement *kriyāpṛthaktvē ca dravya-pṛthaktvadarśanam anumānam uttaratra anēkaśēṣabhāvasya*, it is seen in actual usage *dravyāikaśēṣa* even in the presence of *kriyāpṛthaktva. Viz. Akṣaḥ bhajyantām bhakṣyantām dīvyantām.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Śakaṭākṣa - bibhītikākṣa-dīvanākṣāṇām sahavikṣayām ēkaśēṣaḥ.*

एवं च कृत्वा सोऽपि दोषो भवति यदुक्तं - तत्र युष्मदस्मदन्येषु प्रतिषेधः शेषत्वाद् इति

If so, the defect raised by *Tatra yuṣmad-asmad-anyēṣu prati-ṣēdhaḥ śēṣatvāt* will stand.

नैष दोषः । परिहृतमेतत् - सिद्धं तु युष्मदस्मदोः प्रतिषेधाद् इति

This defect cannot stand. It was already met with by the statement *Siddham tu yuṣmad-asmadōḥ pratiṣēdhāt.*

स तर्हि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः The *pratiṣēdha*, then, has to be read.

न वक्तव्यः । शेषे प्रथमो विधीयते । न हि शेषश्च अन्यश्च शेषग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

No, it need not be read. *Prathamapuruṣa* is enjoined in *śēṣa*. The association of *śēṣa* and another is not taken to come under *śēṣa*..

भवेत्, प्रथमो न स्यात् । मध्यमोत्तमावपि न प्राप्नुतः

Yes, there is no chance for *prathama* there; but there will be no chance even for either *madhyama* or *uttama*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

युष्मदस्मदोरुपपदयोर्मध्यमोत्तमावुच्येते । न च युष्मदस्मदी अन्यश्च युष्मदस्मद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

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Second personal termination or the first personal termination will be added to the verbs only when the *upapada* is *yuṣmad* or *asmad*. *Yuṣmad* and another and *asmad* and another cannot be denoted by *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

यदत्र युष्मद् यच्च अस्मद् तदाश्रयौ मध्यमोत्तमौ भविष्यतः

Second personal termination is used on account of the presence of *yuṣmad* in *yuṣmad* and *anya* and first personal termination is used on account of the presence of *asmad* in *asmad* and *anya*.

यथैव तर्हि यदत्र युष्मद् यच्चास्मत् तदाश्रयौ मध्यमोत्तमौ भवतः, एवं योऽत्र शेषः तदाश्रयः प्रथमः प्राप्नोति

If it is said that *madhyama* is used on account of *yuṣmad* in *yuṣmad* and *anya* and *uttama* is used on account of *asmad* in *asmad* and *anya*, there is chance for *prathama* also on account of the presence of *śēṣa* also.

एवं तर्हि शेष उपपदे प्रथमो विधीयते । उपोच्चारि पदम् उपपदम् । यच्चात्र उपोच्चारि न स शेषः, यश्च शेषः न तदुपोच्चारि ।

If so, *prathama* is enjoined if *śēṣa* is *upapada*. *Upapada* means *the word read near*. That which is read here near the verb is not *śēṣa* (since it is *yuṣmad* and *śēṣa* or *asmad* and *śēṣa*) and that which is *śēṣa* (*Dēvadatta*) is not *upōccāri*.

भवेत् - प्रथमो न स्यात् मध्यमोत्तमावपि न प्राप्नुतः

If there is no chance for *prathama*, there is no chance for *madhyama* and *uttama*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

युष्मदस्मदोरुपपदयोर्मध्यमध्यमोत्तमावुच्येते । उपोच्चारि पदमुपपदम् । यच्चात्रोपोच्चारि न ते युष्मदस्मदी, ये च युष्मदस्मदी, न तदुपोच्चारि ।

Madhyama verb and *uttama* verb are enjoined when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are respectively *upapada*. *Upapada* is the word read close to it. That which is *upōccāri*, is not *yuṣmad* or *asmad*. Those which are *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are not *upōccāri*.

एवं तर्हि शेषेण सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रथमो विधीयते, न चात्र शेषेणैव सामानाधिकरण्यम्

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If so, *prathama* is enjoined if it has *sāmānādhikaraṇya* with *śēṣa.* There is no *sāmānādhikaraṇya* with *ṣēśa* alone here.

भवेत् - प्रथमो न स्यात्, मध्यमोत्तमावपि तु न प्राप्नुतः

Yes, *prathama* may not come; but *madhyama* and *uttama* too may not have chance to come.

किं कारणम्? Why?

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां सामानाधिकरण्ये मध्यमोत्तमौ उच्येते, न चात्र युष्मदस्मद्भ्यामेव सामानाधिकरण्यम्।

Madhyama and *uttama* verbs are enjoined when there is *sāmānādhikaraṇya* with *yuṣmad* and *asmad*; and here there is no *sāmānādhikaraṇya* only with *yuṣmad* and *asmad.*

एवं तर्हि त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यमित्येवमत्र युष्मदस्मदोः शेषो भविष्यति। तत्र युष्मदि मध्यमोऽस्मद्युत्तम इत्येव सिद्धम्।

If so, *śēśa* refers to that other than *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in the list *tyadādi* found in the *gaṇapāṭha.* Hence the object is accomplished since *madhyama* is used along with *yuṣmad* and *uttama* is used along with *asmad.*

न सिध्यति, स्थानिन्यपि इति प्रथमः प्राप्नोति

No, it is not accomplished, since *prathama* will have chance to come, even if *śēṣa* is not pronounced.

त्यदादीनां खल्वपि यद्यत्परं तत्तत् शिष्यते इति यदा भवतः शेषः तदाश्रयः प्रथमः प्राप्नोति

If, in your opinion, *śēṣa* refers to whatever follows in *tyadādis* there is chance for *prathama* on that basis.

IV

युष्मदि मध्यमः अस्मदि उत्तमः इत्येवोच्यते, ताविह न प्राप्नुतः - परमत्वं पचसि, परमाहं पचामि इति।

It is only said that *madhyama* comes with *yuṣmad* and *uttama* with *asmad* and hence those two will have no chance to serve as predicates with reference to *paramatvam* and *paramāham* and hence the following expressions cannot be secured:— *Paramatvam pacasi, Paramāham pacāmi.*

तदन्तविधिना भविष्यति

Such usage is secured through *tadantavidhi.*

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इहापि तर्हि तदन्तविधिना प्राप्नुतः, अतित्वं पचति, अत्यहं पचति इति । ये चाप्येते समानाधिकरणवृत्तयस्तद्धितास्तत्र च मध्यमोत्तमौ न प्राप्नुतः - त्वत्तरः पचसि, मत्तरः पचामि इति ; त्वद्रूपः पचसि, मद्रूपः पचामि इति ; त्वत्कल्पः पचसि, मत्कल्पः पचामि इति ।

If so, those two *sūtras* will have chance to operate here too through *tadantavidhi* in *Atitvam pacati* and *atyaham pacati*. Besides there may not be a chance for *madhyama* and *uttama* to be used along with words having *taddhitapratyayas* of *samānādhikaraṇavṛtti* as in :–*Tvattaraḥ pacasi*, *mattaraḥ pacāmi* ; *Tvadrūpaḥ pacasi*, *madrūpaḥ pacāmi* ; *Tvatkalpaḥ pacasi* and *matkalpaḥ pacāmi*.

एवं तर्हि युष्मद्वत्यस्मद्वति [1] इत्येवं भविष्यति

If so, *yuṣmadi* and *asmadi* are taken to be used in the sense of *yuṣmadvati* and *asmadvati* with *matup-lōpa*.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नुतः, अतित्वं पचति, अत्यहं पचति इति

If so, they (*madhyama* and *uttama* verbs) will chance to come here too in *Atitvam pacati* and *Atyaham pacati*.

एवं तर्हि युष्मदि साधने, अस्मदि साधने इत्येवं भविष्यति

If so, it is taken thus :—*Yuṣmadi sādhanē* and *asmadi sādhanē* which means that *madhyama* is used when there is *yuṣmad-artha* and *uttama* is used when there is *asmad-artha*.

एवं च कृत्वा सोऽप्यदोषो भवति यदुक्तं तत्र युष्मदस्मदन्येषु प्रथमप्रतिषेधः शेषत्वाद् इति

On this basis, the statement *Tatra yuṣmad-asmad-anyēṣu prathama-pratiṣēdhaḥ śēṣatvat* too will be free from defect.

अथ वा प्रथम उत्सर्गः करिष्यते । तस्य युष्मदस्मदोरुपपदयोः मध्यमोत्तमावपवादौ भविष्यतः । तत्र युष्मद्गन्धश्च अस्मद्गन्धश्च अस्तीति कृत्वा मध्यमोत्तमौ भविष्यतः ।

Or *prathamaḥ* is read first as *utsarga* and *Yuṣmadyupapadē* and *Asmadyupapadē* become its *apavādas*. *Madhyama* and *uttama* happen there since there is something of *yuṣmad* and something of *asmad* in the above cases.

1. युष्मदस्मद्वति is another reading.

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V

अथेह कथं भवितव्यम् अत्वं त्वं संपद्यते इति त्वद्भवति, मद्भवतीति आहोस्वित् त्वद्भवसि, मद्भवामि इति

Which is correct here :-*Tvadbhavati* (whose derivation is *atvam tatvam bhavati*) or *tvadbhavasi* and similarly *madbhavati* or *madbhavāmi* ?

त्वद्भवति मद्भवति इत्येवं भवितव्यम्

Tvatbhavati and *madbhavati* should be taken to be correct.

मध्यमोत्तमौ कस्मान्न भवतः?

Why do not *madhyama* and *uttama* set in here ?

गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये सम्प्रत्ययो भवति । तद्यथा गौरनुबन्ध्यो अजोऽग्नीषोमीयः इति न वाहीकोऽनुबध्यते

Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one. This may be illustrated thus:—On hearing the *vidhi Gāur anubandhyōsjōsgnīṣōmīyaḥ*, the resident of *Vāhīkagrāma* is not tied to the stake.

NOTE :—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* uses on many occasions *Gāur vāhīkaḥ*.

कथं तर्हि वाहीके वृद्ध्यात्वे भवतः गौर्वाहीकस्तिष्ठति, गामानय इति?

How then is it possible for *vṛddhi* in the word *gō* as in *Gāuḥ vāhīkaḥ tiṣṭhati* and *ātva* as in *gām ānaya* when it refers to *vāhīka* ?

अर्थाश्रय एतदेवं भवति

This holds good when the *artha* is taken into account.

यद्धि शब्दाश्रयं शब्दमात्रे तद्भवति । शब्दाश्रये च वृद्ध्यात्वे

That which holds good for a form of a word, holds good whether the word gives the primary sense or the secondary sense. *Vṛddhi* and *ātva* are concerned with the form of the word *gō*.

परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता (1, 4, 109)

परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता चेदद्रुतायामसंहितम्

If the definition of *samhitā* is the close proximity in pronunciation, it cannot have within its range sounds which are not produced in the quick mode of pronunciation.

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परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता चेद् अद्रुतायां वृत्तौ संहितासंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, द्रुतायामेव हि परः सन्निकर्षो वर्णानां, नाद्रुतायाम् ।

If the *saṁjñā saṁhitā* is given to the close proximity of two sounds, the *saṁjñā* cannot hold good where the sounds are not produced in the quick mode of pronunciation, since close proximity is possible between two sounds only when they are pronounced quickly one after the other and not otherwise.

तुल्यः सन्निकर्षः Proximity between two sounds is the same.

तुल्यः सन्निकर्षो वर्णानां द्रुतमध्यमविलम्बितासु वृत्तिषु

Proximity between two sounds is the same in whatever *vṛttis* they are pronounced—*drutā*, *madhyamā* and *vilambitā*.

NOTE:—*Drutā vṛttiḥ* is the rapid mode of pronunciation, *madhyamavṛttiḥ* is the medium mode of pronunciation and *vilambitāvṛttiḥ* is the slow mode of pronunciation.

किंकृतस्तर्हि विशेषः ?

What is the cause, then, of their difference ?

वर्णकालभूयस्त्वम् तु

It is the duration of time spent in pronouncing the sounds.

वर्णानां तु कालभूयस्त्वम्

It is the duration - long, medium or short - of time spent in pronouncing them.

तद्यथा हस्तिमशकयोस्तुल्यः सन्निकर्षः, प्राणिभूयस्त्वं तु

It may be illustrated thus :-The proximity between one elephant and another when they stand together is the same as that between one mosquito and another when they stand together, though there is difference in their respective size.

यद्येवम् If so,

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं, कालभेदात्

If there is *taparakaraṇa* to a sound in *drutāvṛtti*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of sounds in other *vṛttis* on account of difference in the duration of pronunciation.

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

If *taparakaraṇa* is made in *drutāvṛtti*, there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *madhyamā* and *vilambitā*.

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किं कारणम्? Why?

कालभेदात् - ये द्रुतायां वृत्तौ वर्णाः विभागाधिकास्ते मध्यमायां, ये मध्यमायां वृत्तौ वर्णाः विभागाधिकास्ते विलम्बितायाम्

On account of the difference in the duration of pronunciation. The sounds that are pronounced in *madhyamā vṛtti* take one and one-third duration of those in *drutā vṛtti* and the sounds that are pronounced in *vilambitā vṛtti* take one and one-third duration of those in *madhyamā vṛtti*.

[1] उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

सिद्धं त्ववस्थिता वर्णा वक्तुश्चिराचिरवचनाद्वृत्तयो विशिष्यन्ते इति

It is accomplished; the quantity of sounds is settled; the time of pronouncing them varies with different persons.

अथवा शब्दाविरामः संहिता इत्येतल्लक्षणं करिष्यते

Or non-stopping of sounds will be stated to be the *lakṣaṇa* of *saṁhitā*.

शब्दाविरामे प्रतिवर्णमवसानम्

If *śabdāvirāma* is taken to be the *saṁhitālakṣaṇa*, there is chance for every letter taking *avasānasaṁjñā*.

शब्दाविरामे प्रतिवर्णमवसानसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

If *śabdāvirāma* is taken to be the *saṁhitālakṣaṇa*, there is chance for every letter taking *avasānasaṁjñā*.

किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति? What is this *prativarṇa*?

वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णं

The derivation of *prativarṇam* is *varṇam varṇam*.

येनैव प्रयत्नेनैको वर्ण उच्चार्यते, विच्छिन्ने वर्णे उपसंहृत्य तमन्यमुपादाय द्वितीयः प्रयुज्यते, तथा तृतीयः, तथा चतुर्थः । एवं तर्हि अनवकाशा संहितासंज्ञा अवसानसंज्ञां बाधिष्यते ।

After a *varṇa* is pronounced with a certain *prayatna* we dispense with it and take recourse to another *prayatna* to pronounce the second *varṇa* and after finishing it, we follow

1. Vol. III pp. 250 & 251 (under *Taparas tatkālasya* 1, 1, 70).

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the same process to pronounce the third *varṇa*, the fourth *varṇa* etc. If so, *saṁhitāsaṁjñā* being *anavakāśa* will set at naught *avasānasaṁjñā*.

अथ वा अवसानसंज्ञायां प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते, साधीयो यो विराम इति

Or the word *sādhīyaḥ* is added to *virāma* in the *lakṣaṇa* of *avasānasaṁjñā*.

कश्च साधीयः ? What is meant by *sādhīya-virāma* ?

यः शब्दार्थयोर्विरामः The *virāma* of *śabda* and *artha*.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads here :-*Śabdasya virāmaḥ śravaṇakṛtaḥ arthasya bōdhakṛtaḥ*.

अथ वा ह्रादाविरामः संहिता इत्येतल्लक्षणं करिष्यते

Or the *lakṣaṇa* is read thus :-*Hrādāvirāmaḥ saṁhitā*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* explains the meaning of *hrāda* thus :- *Prayatnaviśēṣajanitō varṇavirāmēspi anuraṇanarūpō varṇāntarōccāraṇēspi anuvartamānaḥ ghōṣō hrādā ucyatē. Hrāda* is the voice which continues between two sounds of different *prayatnas*.)

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगेऽसन्निधानादसंहितम्

If *hrādāvirāma* is taken to be the *lakṣaṇa* of *saṁhitā*, there will be *avyāpti* when the first and second letters of each of the five *vargas* are used as conjunct consonants on account of the *asannidhāna* of *hrāda*.

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शानामघोषाणां च संयोगेऽसन्निधानात् संहितासंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति - कुक्कुटः, पिप्पकः, पित्तम् इति ।

If *hrādāvirāma* is taken to be the *lakṣaṇa* of *saṁhitā*, there will be *avyāpti* when the first and second letters of each of the five *vargas* are used as conjunct consonants on account of the *asannidhāna* of *hrāda*, as between *k* and *k*; *p* and *p* and *t* and *t* in the words *kukkuṭaḥ*, *pippakaḥ* and *pittam*.

NOTE :—Since *hrāda* is voice and since *k*, *p*, *t* are voiceless consonants, there will be no voice between *k* and *k*, *p* and *p* and *t* and *t*, though there is voice after vowels and voiced consonants.

किमुच्यते संयोग इति ? Why is it said that it is in *saṁyōga* ?

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अथ यत्रैकः पचति इति

What is the case where there is one voiceless consonant (as *c* or *t*) not in conjunction with another?

एकः पूर्वपरयोर्ह्रादेन प्रच्छाद्यते । तद्यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते । बदरपिटके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्गुण उपलभ्यते ।

The one in the middle (the consonant *c t*) between two vowels is covered by their *hrāda* in the same way as the white cloth between two red cloths appears to be red and as a small stray ball of red copper in the baskct full of jujube fruits appears to have their quality.

एकेन तुल्यः सन्निधिः । यथैवैको वर्णो ह्रादेन प्रच्छाद्यते, एवमनेकोऽपि ।

Sannidhi (of many) is similar to that of one. Just as one letter is covered by *hrāda* of the preceding vowel and the succeeding vowel, so also are many covered by the same.

अथ वा पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता इत्येतल्लक्षणं करिष्यते

Or *saṁhitā* is defined to be the continuity without being intercepted by *varṇa-śūnya-kāla*.

पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता चेत् पूर्वापराभावादसंहितम्

If the *lakṣaṇa* of *saṁhitā* is *avyavētam pāurvāparyam*, there is no chance for *saṁhitāsaṁjñā* on account of the absence of *pūrvatva* and *aparatva*.

पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता चेत् पूर्वापराभावात् संहितासंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति । न हि वर्णानां पौर्वापर्यमस्ति ।

If *akālavyavētam pāurvāparyam* is said to be the *lakṣaṇa* of *saṁhitā*, there is no chance for securing *saṁhitāsaṁjñā*; for there is no *pāurvāparya* among *varṇas*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

एकैकवर्णवर्तित्वाद्वाचः उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वाच्च वर्णानाम्

On account of the vocal organ pronouncing only one *varṇa* at a time and on account of the loss of what was pronounced.

एकैकवर्णवर्तिनी वाङ् न द्वौ युगपदुच्चारयति । गौः इति यावद् गकारे वर्तते न औकारे न विसर्जनीये, यावदौकारे न गकारे न विसर्जनीये, यावद्विसर्जनीये न गकारे न औकारे । उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वात् - उच्चरितप्रध्वंसिनः खल्वपि वर्णाः । उच्चरितः प्रध्वस्तः । अथापरः प्रयुज्यते, न वर्णो वर्णस्य सहायः ।

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Vocal organ pronounces only one *varṇa* at a time and does not pronounce two *varṇas* simultaneously. When it is engaged in pronouncing *gakāra* of the word *gāuḥ*, it is not engaged in pronouncing either *āukāra* or *visarga*; similarly when it is engaged in pronouncing *āukāra*, it is not engaged in pronouncing *gakāra* or *visarga*; when it is engaged in pronouncing *visarga* it is not engaged in pronouncing either *gakāra* or *āukāra*. On account of the *pradhvaṁsa* of what was pronounced, *varṇas* evidently die after being pronounced; what was pronounced is now dead. Then another *varṇa* is pronounced. No *varṇa* is pronounced along with another *varṇa*.

एवं तर्हि

बुद्धौ कृत्वा सर्वाश्चेष्टाः कर्ता धीरस्तत्वन्नीतिः ।
शब्देनार्थान् वाच्यान्दृष्ट्वा बुद्धौ कुर्यात्पौर्वापर्यम् ॥

बुद्धिविषयमेव शब्दानां पौर्वापर्यम् । इह य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति अस्मिन्नर्थेऽयं शब्दः प्रयोक्तव्यः, अस्मिंस्तावच्छब्देऽयं तावद्वर्णस्ततोऽयं ततोऽयम् इति ।

If so, the intelligent speaker forms in his mind the whole of what he has to say, thinks of the words which convey his meaning and the letters in order which make up the words. Succession of words lies only in mind. Here the man, if he is one of foresight, sees in his mind's eye that this word should be pronounced to convey this idea and these are the letters in succession which form this word.

विरामोऽवसानम् (1, 4, 110)

इदं विचार्यते अभावो वा अवसानलक्षणं स्याद् विरामो वा इति

This is examined whether *abhāva* is the *lakṣaṇa* of *avasāna* or *virāma*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference?

अभावेऽवसानलक्षणे उपर्यभाववचनम्

If *abhāva* is the *avasānalakṣaṇa*, there is need to read *uparyabhāva*.

अभावे अवसानलक्षणे उपर्यभावग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । उपरि यो अभाव इति वक्तव्यम् । पुरस्तादपि हि शब्दस्याभावः, तत्र मा भूद् इति ।

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If *abhāva* is given as the *lakṣaṇa* of *avasāna*, *abhāva* should be replaced by *uparyabhāva* i. e. the *abhāva* after the *śabda*, so that it may not refer to the *abhāva* which exists even before the word.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Varṇōccāraṇād ūrdhvam yōऽbhāvaḥ, tad-upalakṣitō varṇōऽvasānam iti vaktvyam, prāgabhāvasya upalakṣaṇatva-nivṛttyartham.*

किं च स्यात्? What will then happen?

रसः, रथः, खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः इति विसर्जनीयः प्राप्नोति ।

Visarga will have chance to replace *r* in the words *rasaḥ* and *rathaḥ* on the strength of the *sūtra*—*Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ* (8, 3, 15).

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads here :-*Padāvayavasya avasānē rēphasya visarga iti sūtrārthaḥ, Khari iti vākyē rēphāntasya padasya ityartha iti bōdhyam.*

अस्तु तर्हि विरामः If so, let it be *virāma.*

विरामे विरामवचनम्

If *virāma* is *avasānalakṣaṇa*, there is need for the reading of *virāma*.

यस्य विरामः, विरामग्रहणं तेन कर्तव्यम्

Why! he too who holds the view that *virāma* is *avasānalakṣaṇa*, has to read *virāma*.

ननु च यस्याप्यभावः तेनाप्यभावग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Why! he too who holds the view that *abhāva* is *avasānalakṣaṇa*, has to read *abhāva*.

परार्थं मम भविष्यति अभावो लोपः ततोऽवसानं चेति

It will be useful in my opinion, for another; it will be the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa* and *upalakṣaṇa* of *avasāna*.

ममापि तर्हि विरामग्रहणं परार्थं भविष्यति, विरामो लोपः, अवसानं च इति

Even to me then the mention of *virāma* will be useful for another; it will be the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa* and *upalakṣaṇa* of *avasāna*.

उपरि विरामवचनम् Reading of *Upari virāmaḥ*.

उपरि यो विराम इतिं वक्तव्यम् । पुरस्तादपि हि शब्दस्य विरामः तत्र मा भूत्

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The word *virāma* must be qualified by the word *upari*, so that the *virāma* which precedes the word may not be the *upalakṣaṇa* of *avasāna*.

किं च स्यात्? What will be the effect if it happens so?

रसः, रथः, खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीय इति विसर्जनीयः प्रसज्येत

Visarga will replace *r* in *rasaḥ* and *rathaḥ* by the *sūtra Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ*.

नैष दोषः, आरम्भपूर्वको मम विरामः

This difficulty does not arise; for *virāma*, in my opinion, can be for one that has a beginning.

अथ वा नेदमवसानलक्षणं विचार्यते

Or the *lakṣaṇa* of *avasāna* is not discussed here.

किं तर्हि? What then?

संज्ञी The *saṁjñin* (of *avasāna*).

अभावोऽवसानसंज्ञी स्याद्विरामो वेति । कश्चात्र विशेषः?

Let the *saṁjñin* of *avasāna* be *abhāva* or *virāma*. What difference does it make?

अभावेऽवसानसंज्ञिनि उपर्यभाववचनम्

If *abhāva* is *avasānasaṁjñin*, there is need to qualify *abhāva* by *upari*.

अभावेऽवसानसंज्ञिनि उपर्यभावग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । उपरि यो अभाव इति वक्तव्यम् । पुरस्तादपि हि शब्दस्य अभावस्तत्र मा भूदिति ।

If *abhāva* is the *saṁjñin* of *avasāna*, there is need to read *uparyabhāva*, which means the *abhāva* which follows; for there is *abhāva* even before the word and the *saṁjñā* should not reach it.

किं च स्यात्? What is the harm if it reaches it?

रसः, रथः, खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीय इति विसर्जनीयः प्रसज्येत

Visarga will replace *r* by the *sūtra Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ*.

अस्तु तर्हि विरामोऽवसानम्

If so, let *virāma* be the *saṁjñin* of *avasāna*.

यस्य विरामः, तेन विरामग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

He who holds that *virāma* is the *saṁjñin* of *avasāna* has to read *virāma*.

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ननु च यस्याप्यभावः, तेनाप्यभावग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Why! Even he who holds that *abhāva* is the *saṁjñin* has to read *abhāva*.

परार्थं मम भविष्यति - अभावो लोपः, ततोऽवसानं च इति

It will, in my opinion, be useful to another; *abhāva* will be the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa* and *avasāna*.

ममापि तर्हि विरामग्रहणं परार्थं भविष्यति - विरामो लोपः, अवसानं च इति

Virāma, too, will, then, in my opinion be useful for another; it will be the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa* and also *avasāna*.

उपरि यो विराम इति वक्तव्यम्

Virāma should be qualified by the word *upari*.

ननु चोक्तम् आरम्भपूर्वको विराम इति

Oh, it has been said that *virāma* can be for one that has a beginning.

नावश्यमयं रमिः प्रवृत्तावेव वर्तते

The root *ram* does not, necessarily, mean *nivṛtti* preceded by *pravṛtti* (*commencement.*)

किं तर्हि ? What does it mean then ?

अप्रवृत्तावपि - तद्यथा उपरतान्यस्मिन् कुले व्रतानि, उपरतः स्वाध्यायः इति । न च तत्र स्वाध्यायो भूतपूर्वो भवति, नापि व्रतानि ।

It is used to denote *apravṛtti*, as in the sentences *uparatāni asmin kulē vratāni* (*vratas* have become obsolete in this family), *uparataḥ svādhyāyaḥ* (study of *Vēdas* has become obsolete.)

भावविरामभावित्वाच्छब्दस्यावसानलक्षणं न

Impossibility of *avasānalakṣaṇa* to *śabda* on account of its existence through *non-virāma* of *bhāva*.

भावाविरामभावित्वाच्छब्दस्य अवसानलक्षणं नोपपद्यते

It is not possible for *śabda* to have *avasānalakṣaṇa* on account of the fact that it exists through the *non-virāma* of *bhāva*.

किमिदं भावाविरामभावित्वाद् इति ?

What is this - *bhāvāvirāmabhāvitvāt ?*

भावस्य अविरामः भावाविरामः ; भावाविरामेण भवतीति भावाविरामभावी ; भावाविरामभाविनो भावः, भावाविरामभावित्वम्

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The derivation of *bhāvāvirāmabhāvitvam* is this :—*bhāvasya avirāmaḥ = bhāvāvirāmaḥ ; bhāvāvirāmēṇa bhavati iti bhāvāvirāmabhāvī ; bhāvāvirāmabhāvinō bhāvaḥ = bhāvāvirāmabhāvitvam.*

अपर आह - भावभावित्वाद् अविरामभावित्वाच्च शब्दस्य अवसानलक्षणं नोपपद्यते इति

Another says that it is not possible for *śabda* to have *avasānalakṣaṇa* since it exists through *bhāva* and *avirāma*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* tells *anupapattiḥ* of *lakṣaṇadvaya* thus. *Bhāvēna sattayā avirāmēṇa avicchēdēna bhavati ityarthaḥ.*

तत्पर इति वा वर्णस्यावसानम्

Or *avasānasaṁjñā* is to the *varṇa* having *avasāna* after it.

विरामपरो वर्णोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be stated that the *varṇa* which has *avasāna* following it gets the *avasānasaṁjñā*

वर्णोऽन्त्यो वावसानम्

Or the final letter of a word gets the *avasānasaṁjñā*.

अथवा व्यक्तमेव पठितव्यम्, अन्त्यो वर्णोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवतीति

Or it must be plainly stated that the final letter of a word gets the *avasānasaṁjñā*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must, then, be stated.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be stated.

संहितावसानयोर्लोकविदितत्वात् सिद्धम्

It is achieved since *saṁhitā* and *avasāna* are known to the world.

संहितावसानमिति लोकविदितावेतावर्थौ । एवं च कश्चित् कञ्चिद् अधीयानमाह शन्नो देवीयं संहितया अधीष्व इति । स तत्र परमसन्निकर्षमधीते । अपर आह केन अवस्यसि इति । स आह अकारेणेकारेकारेण इति । एवमेतौ लोकविदितावर्थौ, तयोः लोकविदितत्वात् सिद्धम् इति ॥

The words *saṁhitā* and *avasānam* are known to the world. One says to another, "Read the *sūkta Śannō dēvīḥ* ... in the *saṁhitā* form." He reads it one word closely following another. Another says, "With which do you end?" The other replies, "With *a*, *i* and *u*. Thus the two words are known to the world and hence the object is achieved.

NOTE :—This shows that *Vārttikakāra* feels that the *sūtras Paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ* ... and *virāmōsvasānam* are not necessary.

EIGHTEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS.

First Chapter of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ends.

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Nineteenth Āhnika

(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, first *āhnika*)

समर्थः पदविधिः (2, 1, 1)

This *āhnika* deals with this *sūtra* alone. It contains *ten* topics:—(1) What is the meaning of the word *vidhiḥ*? (2) Is this *adhikāra-sūtra* or *paribhāṣā*? Does the word *samartha* refer to *ēkārthībhāva* or *vyapēkṣā*? (3) What is the need for the word *samartha* in the *sūtra*, or what is the need for this *sūtra*? (4) What are the different kinds of *sāmarthya*? (5) What is the definition of *vākya*? (6) Is there possibility to split *rājagavīkṣīram* in two ways? (7) What for is the *samarthādhikāra* in *padavidhi*? (8) Is there need to add *samānādhikaraṇēṣu*? (9) Is there need to add *luptākhyātēṣu*? (10) How is *samāsa* formed between two at a time or more than two?

I

विधिरिति कोऽयं शब्दः ?

What is this—the word *vidhi*? i.e. what is its meaning?

वि-पूर्वात् धाञः कर्मसाधनः इकारः - विधीयते विधिरिति

The word *vidhi* means that which is enjoined and is formed by adding the suffix *i* denoting *karma* to the root *dhā* preceded by the preposition *vi*.

किं पुनर्विधीयते ? What is enjoined?

समासः, विभक्तिविधानं, पराङ्गवद्भावश्च

Compound, special *vidhis* regarding case-suffixes and the state of considering one as if it is a part of what follows.

II

किं पुनरयमधिकारः, आहोस्वित् परिभाषा ?

Is this, then, *adhikāra-sūtra* or *paribhāṣā - sūtra*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says:–*Kārya-viśēṣa-anirdēśād asya pārārthyam avagatya parārthēṣu rūpadvayam dṛṣṭvā pṛcchati.*

कः पुनरधिकारपरिभाषयोर्विशेषः ?

What is the difference between *adhikāra* and *paribhāṣā*?

अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति योगेयोगे उपतिष्ठते । परिभाषा पुनः एकदेशस्था सती कृत्स्नं शास्त्रम् अभिज्वलयति प्रदीपवत्; तद्यथा, प्रदीपः सुप्रज्वलितः एकदेशस्थः सर्वं वेश्माभिज्वलयति ।

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The need for *adhikāra-sūtra* is to avoid repetition of the same in each *sūtra* and hence it is taken to each *sūtra* for the interpretation of the latter. On the other hand *paribhāṣā*, remaining in its own place, illumines the whole *śāstra* in the same way as a lamp, well-lighted, illumines the whole house from the place where it is.

कः पुनरत्र प्रयत्नविशेषः ?

What is the special effort to be taken here ?

अधिकारे सति स्वरयितव्यम् । परिभाषायां पुनः सत्यां सर्वम् अपेक्ष्यम् ।

If it is taken as *ādhikāra-sūtra*, the accent *svarita* is to be used (on the word *samartha*, and consequently the word *padavidhiḥ* is unnecessary) If it is taken, on the other hand, as *paribhāṣā-sūtra*, there is need for such a *liṅga* as will enable the whole range within the purview of *pada-vidhi* to be taken into account.

तथा इदमपरं द्वैतं भवति, एकार्थीभावो वा सामर्थ्यं स्याद् व्यपेक्षा वा

Besides another doubt arises whether *sāmarthya* in either case refers to *ēkārthībhāva* or *vyapēkṣā*.

NOTE :—*Ekārthībhāva* is found where the meaning of one word merges into another, it being *viśēṣaṇa* to it as in *rājan* in *rājapuruṣa* or the word tells the meaning of another as *pīta* and *ambaram* in the word *pītāmbaraḥ*. *Vyapēkṣā* is the capacity of one word needing another to complete the sense, as *rājñaḥ* needing *puruṣaḥ*. The former is found in compounds and the latter in simple words.

तत्र एकार्थीभावे सामर्थ्ये अधिकारे च सति समास एकः संगृहीतो भवति, विभक्तिविधानं पराङ्गवद्भावश्च असंगृहीतः । व्यपेक्षायां पुनः सामर्थ्ये अधिकारे च सति विभक्तिविधानं पराङ्गवद्भावश्च संगृहीतो भवति, समासस्त्वेकोऽसंगृहीतः । अन्यत्र खल्वपि समर्थग्रहणानि युक्तग्रहणानि च कर्तव्यानि भवन्ति ।

If it is taken that it is an *adhikāra-sūtra* and *sāmarthya* refers to *ēkārthībhāva*, *samāsa* alone comes within the purview of the *sūtra* and *vibhaktividhāna* and *parāṅgavadbhāva* fall outside its range; but, on the other hand, if it is taken that it is an *adhikāra-sūtra* and *sāmarthya* refers to *vyapēkṣā*, *vibhaktividhāna* and *parāṅgavadbhāva* come within the purview of the

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sūtra and *samāsa* alone falls outside its range; besides there is need for reading the words *samartha* and *yukta* elsewhere.

क्वान्यत्र? Which does elsewhere refer to?

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये, न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते इति

To the *sūtras Isusōḥ sāmarthyē* (8, 3, 44) and *Na ca vāhāhāiva-yuktē* (8, 1, 24).

व्यपेक्षायां पुनः सामर्थ्ये परिभाषायां च सत्यां यावान् व्याकरणे पदगन्धो नाम स सर्वः संगृहीतो भवति, समासस्त्वेकोऽसंगृहीतः

If it is taken that it is *paribhāṣā* and *sāmarthya* refers to *vyapēkṣā*, wherever there is scope for *padavidhi* it comes within the range of this *sūtra* but *samāsa* alone falls outside.

तत्र एकार्थीभावः सामर्थ्यं परिभाषा च इत्येवं सूत्रमभिन्नतरकं भवति

Among them, taking that the *sūtra* is *paribhāṣā* and *sāmarthya* refers to *ēkārthībhāva* may better enable the *sūtra* to convey the desired meaning without *sūtra-split.*

एवमपि क्वचिदकर्तव्यं समर्थग्रहणं क्रियते, क्वचिच्च कर्तव्यं न क्रियते। अकर्तव्यं क्रियते समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा इति; कर्तव्यं न क्रियते, कर्मण्यण्, समर्थादिति।

Even then the word *samartha* is read where it is not necessary and it is not read where it is necessary. It is not necessary in the *sūtra Samarthānām prathamād vā* (4, 1, 82) and *samarthād* is necessary in the *sūtra Karmaṇyaṇ* (3, 2, 1).

ननु च गम्यते तत्र सामर्थ्यं कुम्भकारो नगरकार इति

Oh! *sāmarthya* is seen in *kumbhakāraḥ* and *nagarakāraḥ*.

सत्यं गम्यते उत्पन्ने हि प्रत्यये; स एव तावत् समर्थादुत्पाद्यः

Yes, it is seen only after the *pratyaya* is added and it has to be secured through *sāmarthya.*

III

अथ समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What, then, is the need for the word *samarthaḥ*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says here that the need of the *sūtra* itself is indirectly questioned.

वक्ष्यति द्वितीया श्रितादिभिः समस्यते, कष्टश्रितो नरकाश्रित इति

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(*Ācārya*) is going to enjoin (in 2—1—24) that a word in the second case compounds with *śrita* etc., as in *kaṣṭaśritaḥ* and *narakaśritaḥ*.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *samartha* there?

पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं - श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम्

So that *samāsa* may not take place between *kaṣṭam* and *śritaḥ* found at the end and at the beginning of the two sentences–*Paśya Dēvadatta kaṣṭam* and *Śritō Viṣṇumitrō gurukulam*, where there is no *sāmarthya* between *kaṣṭam* and *śritaḥ* since *kaṣṭam* governs *paśya* and *śritaḥ* is governed by *gurukulam*.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन - उपादानविकलः, शङ्कुलाखण्डः, किरिकाणः।

(*Ācārya* is going to read) the *sūtra Tṛtīyā tat-kṛtārthēna guṇa-vacanēna* (2, 1, 30) by which the compound forms *upādāna-vikalaḥ* (one who is emaciated through the control of sense-organs), *śaṅkulā-khaṇḍaḥ* (one who is cut with lancet) and *kirikāṇaḥ* (one who has become blind through eye-disease) are secured.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *samartha*?

तिष्ठ त्वं शङ्कुलया, खण्डो धावति मुसलेन; किं त्वं करिष्यसि शङ्कुलया, खण्डो विष्णुमित्र उपलेन।

So that *śaṅkulayā* and *khaṇḍaḥ* in the following pairs of sentences may not compound with each other:–*Tiṣṭha tvaṁ śaṅkulayā, Khaṇḍō dhāvati musalēna; kiṁ tvaṁ kariṣyasi śaṅkulayā, Khaṇḍō Viṣṇumitra upalēna*.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः - गोहितम्, वृषभहितं, अश्वहितम्

(*Ācārya* is going to read) the *sūtra Caturthī tad-arthārtha-bali-hita-sukha-rakṣitāiḥ* (2, 1, 36) by which the forms *gō-hitam*, *vṛṣabha-hitam* and *aśva-hitam* are secured.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *samartha*?

सुखं गोभ्यः, हितं देवदत्ताय

So that *gōbhyaḥ* and *hitam* in the two sentences *Sukhaṁ gōbhyaḥ* and *Hitam Dēvadattāya* may not compound with each other.

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पञ्चमी भयेन - वृकभयं, दस्युभयं, चोरभयम्

(*Ācārya* is going to read) the *sūtra Pañcamī bhayēna* (2, 1, 37) by which the forms *vṛka-bhayam*, *dasyu-bhayam* and *cōra-bhayam* are secured.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *samartha* ?

गच्छ त्वम् , मा वृकेभ्यः, भयं देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तस्य

So that the words *vṛkēbhyaḥ* and *bhayam* may not compound with each other in the sentences *Gaccha tvaṁ mā vṛkēbhyaḥ*, *Bhayam Dēvadattād Yajñadattasya*.

षष्ठी सुबन्तेन समस्यते - राजपुरुषः, ब्राह्मणकम्बलः

A word in the sixth case compounds itself with a *subanta*, as in *rāja-puruṣaḥ* and *brāhmaṇa-kambalaḥ*.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *samartha ?*

भार्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य इति

So that the words *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* in the sentences *Bhāryā rajñaḥ* and *Puruṣō Dēvadattasya* may not compound together.

सप्तमी शौण्डैः - अक्षशौण्डः, स्त्रीशौण्डः

(*Ācārya* is going to read) the *sūtra Saptamī śāuṇḍaiḥ* (2, 1, 40) by which the forms *akṣa-śāuṇḍaḥ* and *strī-śāuṇḍaḥ* are secured.

समर्थग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the word *samartha?*

कुशलो देवदत्तोऽक्षेषु, शौण्डः पिबति पानागारे

So that *akṣēṣu* and *śāuṇḍaḥ* in the sentences *Kuśalō Dēvadattōzkṣēṣu* and *Śāuṇḍaḥ pibati pānāgārē* may not compound with each other.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि समर्थग्रहणे इह कस्मान्न भवति - महत्कष्टं श्रित इति ?

Even when the word *samartha* is read, what is the reason for the absence of the compound in *mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ* ?

न वा भवति महाकष्टश्रित इति ?

Does it not compound into *mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ ?*

भवति यदैतद् वाक्यं भवति - महत् कष्टम् = महाकष्टम्, महाकष्टं श्रितः = महाकष्टश्रितः इति । यदा त्वेतद् वाक्यं भवति महत्कष्टं श्रित इति तदा न भवितव्यम् । तदा च प्राप्नोति

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It does form into a compound if the sentence takes the following form-*Mahat kaṣṭam = mahākaṣṭam, mahākaṣṭam śritaḥ = mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ*. If, on the other hand, the sentence takes this form-*mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ*, there is no sanction for the formation of the compound ; but it chances to come then.

तदा कस्मान्न भवति ? Why does it not form a compound there?

कस्य कस्मान्न भवति ? किं द्वयोः, आहोस्विद् बहूनाम् ?

To which does the question *kasmān na bhavati* refer ? Does it refer to two words or to more than two ?

बहूनां कस्मान्न भवति ? Why does it not happen to many ?

सुप्सुपा इति वर्तते

There is *anuvṛtti* for *sup* and *supā* from the *sūtra Supā* (2, 1, 4) by which one *subanta* compounds itself with another *subanta*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :-*Saṇkhyāyāḥ vivakṣitatvād ēkasyāiva subantasya ēkēna subantēna samāsaḥ ; tatō bahūnām na bhavati ityarthaḥ.*

ननु च भो आकृतौ शास्त्राणि प्रवर्तन्ते । तद्यथा - प्रातिपदिकाद् इति वर्तमाने अन्यस्माच्चान्यस्माच्च प्रातिपदिकाद् उत्पत्तिर्भवति ।

Oh ! Sir, rules in the *śāstra* refer to genus. On the mention of *prātipadikāt*, *kārya* takes place after one *prātipadika*, then after another, then after another and so on.

सत्यमेवैतत् । आकृतिस्तु प्रत्येकं परिसमाप्यते, न समुदाये । यावत्येतत् परिसमाप्यते प्रातिपदिकादिति, तावत् उत्पत्त्या भवितव्यम् । प्रत्येकं चैतत् परिसमाप्यते न समुदाये । एवम् इहापि यावत्येतत् परिसमाप्यते सुप्सुपेति, तावतः समासेन भवितव्यम् । द्वयोश्चैतत् परिसमाप्यते, न बहुषु ।

It is certainly true. But genus refers to one individual at a time and not to the whole group simultaneously. Operation takes place to that which is referred to by *prātipadikāt*. It refers to each individual *prātipadika* and not to a group of *prātipadikas*. So also *sāmāsa* should take place here only where *Sup supā* has its *samāpti* (operation). It has it with reference to every two and not for more than two.

द्वयोस्तर्हि कस्मान्न भवति ?

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How is it, then, *samāsa* does not take place between the two (i. e.) between *kaṣṭam* and *śritaḥ* in *mahatkaṣṭam śritaḥ*)?

असामर्थ्यात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? How is it that there is *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति

That which is qualified by a separate word does not compound with another.

यदि सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवतीत्युच्यते, राजपुरुषोऽभिरूपः राजपुरुषो दर्शनीयः अत्र वृत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*, *puruṣa* in the word *rājapuruṣa* in the sentences *Rājapuruṣōsbhirūpaḥ* and *Rājapuruṣō darśanīyaḥ*, cannot compound with *rājan*.

नैष दोषः । प्रधानमत्र सापेक्षम् । भवति च प्रधानस्य सापेक्षस्यापि समासः ।

This difficulty does not arise. The *viśēṣya* is here *sāpēkṣa*. There is *samāsa* between a *viśēṣya*, though it has *apēkṣā* for another, and its *viśēṣaṇa*.

यत्र तर्ह्यप्रधानं सापेक्षं भवति, तत्र वृत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति, देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलम् देवदत्तस्य गुरुपुत्रः देवदत्तस्य दासभार्या इति

If, then, *viśēṣaṇa* has *apēkṣā* for another, it cannot compound with its *viśēṣya*, as in *Dēvadattasya gurukulam* (the family of the *guru* of *Dēvadatta*), *Dēvadattasya guruputraḥ*, *Dēvadattasya dāsabhāryā* etc.

NOTE:—*Dēvadattasya gurukulam* means *Dēvadattasya yaḥ guruḥ tasya kulam*.

नैष दोषः; समुदायापेक्षात्र षष्ठी सर्वं गुरुकुलमपेक्षते ।

This difficulty does not arise. The sixth case has *apēkṣā* for the whole word and hence qualifies the compound word *gurukulam* (and consequently it compounds with it).

यत्र तर्हि न समुदायापेक्षा षष्ठी, तत्र ते वृत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति - किमोदनः शालीनाम्, सक्त्वाढकमापणीयानाम्, कुतो भवान् पाटलिपुत्रकः इति

Where, then, the sixth case has no *apēkṣā* for the whole, *samāsa* will not, according to your opinion, take place, as in

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Kim-ōdanaḥ śālīnām, *Śaktvāḍhakam āpaṇīyānām* and *Kutō bhavān Pāṭaliputrakaḥ*.

NOTE:—*Kim-ōdanaḥ śālīnām* means *śālīnām kēṣām ōdanaḥ* (food of which rice) and not *śālīnām kīdṛśa ōḍanaḥ* (what kind of food prepared from *śāli* rice). *Saktvāḍhakam āpaṇīyānām* means *āpaṇīyānām saktūnām āḍhakam* (a measure of flours found in the shop) and not *āpaṇīyānām madhyē saktvāḍhakam* (a measure of flour among the things sold in the shop). *Kutō bhavān Pāṭaliputrakaḥ* means *Kasmāt Pāṭaliputrād bhavān āgataḥ* (from which *Pāṭaliputra* have you come) and not *kutō bhavān Pāṭaliputrakaḥ* (wherefrom have you come, the resident of *Pāṭaliputra*).

इह चापि देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलं, देवदत्तस्य गुरुपुत्रः, देवदत्तस्य दासभार्या इति, यद्येषा समुदायापेक्षा षष्ठी स्यात्, नैतत् नियोगतो गम्येत देवदत्तस्य यो गुरुः तस्य यः पुत्र इति ।

If, here too-in *Dēvadattasya gurukulam*, *Dēvadattasya guru-putraḥ* and *Dēvadattasya dāsabhāryā* - the sixth case qualifies the whole, the expression *Dēvadattasya guruputraḥ* cannot give the sense *Dēvadattasya yō guruḥ tasya yaḥ putraḥ*.

किं तर्हि? What sense will it give then?

अन्यस्यापि गुरुपुत्रः, देवदत्तस्य किञ्चिद् इत्येषोऽर्थो गम्येत ।

The meaning that he is *guruputra* to one other than *Dēvadatta* and is connected in some way with *Dēvadatta* will be secured.

यतस्तु खलु नियोगतो देवदत्तस्य यो गुरुः तस्य यः पुत्र इत्येषोऽर्थो गम्यते, अतो मन्यामहे नैषा समुदायापेक्षा षष्ठीति ।

Since, from the statement, it is to be interpreted in this way—*Dēvadattasya yō guruḥ, tasya putraḥ*, we think that the sixth case does not govern the whole.

अन्यत्र खल्वपि समर्थग्रहणे सापेक्षस्यापि कार्यं भवति

Even in other places the *kārya* depending upon *sāmarthya* takes place even though it is qualified by another.

क्वान्यत्र? What is the place referred to by *anyatra*?

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये - ब्राह्मणस्य सर्पिष्करोति इति

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In the expression *Brāhmaṇasya sarpiṣ-karōti* which comes within the purview of the *sūtra Is-usōḥ sāmarthyē* (8, 3, 44).

तस्मात् नैतत् शक्यं वक्तुम् - सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति

Hence it is not possible to postulate *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*.

वृत्तिस्तर्हि कस्मान्न भवति महत्कष्टं श्रित इति ?

How is it then that there is no *samāsa* between *kaṣṭam* and *śritaḥ* in the expression *mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ*.

सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न, वृत्तस्य वा विशेषणयोगो न

The word qualified by one does not form a compound with another and that which has compounded with another does not take a *viśēṣaṇa* before it.

सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न, वृत्तस्य वा विशेषणं न प्रयुज्यते इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that the words having *viśēṣaṇas* do not compound with others and that which has compounded with another is not allowed to take a *viśēṣaṇa* before it.

यदि सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न वृत्तस्य वा विशेषणं न प्रयुज्यते इत्युच्यते, देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलं, देवदत्तस्य गुरुपुत्रः, देवदत्तस्य दासभार्या इत्यत्र वृत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said :–*Saviśēṣaṇānām vṛttir na vṛttasya vā viśēṣaṇam na prayujyatē* - there is chance for the compound *guru-kulam*, *guru-putraḥ* or *dāsa-bhārya* in the expressions *Dēvadattasya guru-kulam*, *Dēvadattasya guruputraḥ* or *Dēvadattasya dāsa-bhāryā*.

अगुरुपुत्रादीनाम् [1] Need to read *aguruputrādīnām*.

अगुरुपुत्रादीनामिति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that it operates except in *guruputra* etc.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यं सविशेषणानां वृत्तिर्न वृत्तस्य वा विशेषणं न प्रयुज्यते अगुरुपुत्रादीनामिति

Then this must be said :–*Saviśēṣaṇānām vṛttir na vṛttasya vā viśēṣaṇam na prayujyatē aguruputrādīnām*.

1. *Agurukulaputrādīnām* is the reading in Sri Guruprasada Sastri's edition.

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न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be resorted to.

वृत्तिस्तर्हि कस्मान्न भवति ?

If so, why does not *kaṣṭam* compound with *śritaḥ*?

अगमकत्वात्

On account of the absence of proof (in the form of usage)

इह समानार्थेन वाक्येन भवितव्यं समासेन च । यश्चेहार्थो वाक्येन गम्यते महत्कष्टं श्रितः इति, नासौ जातुचित् समासेन गम्यते महत्कष्टश्रितः इति

The sentence and the compound, here, should convey the same meaning. The compound *mahat-kaṣṭa-śritaḥ* is nowhere found in the world conveying the same sense as the sentence *mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ*.

एतस्माद्धेतोर्ब्रूमः अगमकत्वादिति । न ब्रूमः अपशब्दः स्याद् इति । यत्र च गमको भवति, भवति तत्र वृत्तिः ; तद्यथा - देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलम्, देवदत्तस्य गुरुपुत्रः, देवदत्तस्य दासभार्या इति

It is, only on account of this, that we say *agamakatvāt*. We do not say that it will become an *apaśabda*. Compound does make its appearance where it conveys the same sense as the sentence as in *Dēvadattasya gurukulam*, *Dēvadattasya guruputraḥ* and *Dēvadattasya dāsabhāryā*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* writes :—*Mahat-kaṣṭa-śritaḥ ityayam tu mahat-kaṣṭam śritaḥ ityētadvākyārthē nāiva prayujyatē.*

यद्यगमकत्वं हेतुः, नार्थः समर्थग्रहणेन । इहापि - भार्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य - इति योऽर्थो वाक्येन गम्यते, नासौ जातुचित् समासेन गम्यते - भार्या राजपुरुषो देवदत्तस्य - इति । तस्मान्नार्थः समर्थग्रहणेन

If *agamakatva* is the *hētu*, no purpose is served by the mention of *samartha* (in the *sūtra*). The meaning expressed in the sentences *Bhāryā rājñaḥ* and *Puruṣō Dēvadattasya* is never expressed in the sentence *Bhāryā rājapuraṣō Dēvadattasya*, where *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* have compounded together. Hence the mention of the word *samartha* is unnecessary.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । अयमस्त्यसमर्थसमासो नञ्समासो गमकः, तस्य साधुत्वं मा भूत् - अकिञ्चित्कुर्वाणम्, अमाषं हरमाणम्, अगाधाद् उत्सृष्टम् इति ।

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There is *nañ-samāsa* which is *asamartha* but *gamaka* (current in the world) as *a-kiñcit kurvāṇam, a-māṣam haramāṇam* and *a-gādhāt utsṛṣṭam* and it should be taken as *sādhu* (*su-śabda*).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Kiñcid akurvāṇam, māṣam aharamāṇam, gādhād anutsṛṣṭam ityētēṣvarthēṣu ētē nañsamāsāḥ.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अवश्यं कस्य चिन्नञ्समासस्य असमर्थस्य गमकस्य साधुत्वं वक्तव्यम् - असूर्यंपश्यानि मुखानि, अपुनर्गेयाः श्लोकाः, अश्राद्धभोजी ब्राह्मणः, अलवणभोजी ब्राह्मण इति । सुडनपुंसकस्य इत्येतत् नियमार्थं भविष्यति - एतस्यैव असमर्थसमासस्य नञ्समासस्य गमकस्य साधुत्वं भवति नान्यस्य इति । तस्मान्नार्थः समर्थग्रहणेन ।

This too is not a *prayōjana*. It is absolutely necessary to admit the *sādhutva* of some *nañsamāsas* which are *asamartha-samāsas* and at same time *gamakas* like *asūryampaśyāni, apunargēyāḥ, aśrāddhabhōjī* and *alavaṇabhōjī* in the expressions *Asūryampaśyāni mukhāni, apunargēyāḥ ślōkāḥ, Aśrāddhabhōjī brāhmaṇaḥ* and *Alavaṇabhōjī brāhmaṇaḥ*. The *sūtra Suḍ anapuṁsakasya* (in place of *Na suḍ napuṁsakasya*) may be taken to restrict the *sādhutva* of these *asamartha-gamaka-nañsamāsas* alone and to none else :–Hence the word *samarthaḥ* in the *sūtra* is unnecessary (and consequently the *sūtra*, as a whole, is unnecessary.)

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Asūryampaśyāni iti. Sūrya-karmikayā dṛśikriyayā nañaḥ sambandhaḥ, na tu sūryasthayā sattayā iti asāmarthyam Apunargēyā iti. Punar na gēyā iti gānēna nañaḥ sambandhaḥ na tu punaḥ-śabdārthēna. Aśrāddha-bhōjī iti. Bhujinā nañaḥ sambandhō na tu śrāddhēna ... Ana-puṁsakasyēti. Prasajyapratiṣēdhapakṣē ayam asamarthasamāsaḥ.*

IV

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि समर्थग्रहणे समर्थमित्युच्यते, किं समर्थं नाम?

The word *samartha* is read in the *sūtra*. Let it stand. What is meant by it?

NOTE:–The purpose of this sentence is to serve as an introduction for the exhaustive analysis of *ēkārthībhāva-sāmarthya* and *vyapēkṣā-lakṣaṇa-sāmarthya* made by *Vārttikakāra*.

1. *Alavaṇabhōjī brāhmaṇaḥ* is not found in some editions.

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पृथगर्थानामेकार्थीभावः समर्थवचनम्

The word *samartha* expresses the *ēkārthībhāvatva* of *pṛthagarthas*.

पृथगर्थानां पदानामेकार्थीभावः समर्थम् इत्युच्यते

The capacity of denoting the same object lying in two words having different meanings is referred to by the word *samartha*.

क्व पुनः पृथगर्थानि, क्वैकार्थानि ?

Where are they, then, *pṛthag-arthas* and where, *ēkārthas* ?

वाक्ये पृथगर्थानि राज्ञः पुरुष इति, समासे पुनरेकार्थानि राजपुरुष इति ।

They are *pṛthag-arthas* in phrases like *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and *ēkārthas* in compounds like *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

किमुच्यते पृथगर्थानीति, यावता राज्ञः पुरुष आनीयताम् इत्युक्ते राजपुरुष आनीयते ; राजपुरुषः इति च स एव ?

How is it said that *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* are said to be *pṛthag-arthas* even though the same person who is referred to by the compound *rāja-puruṣaḥ* is brought in when the sentence *Rājñaḥ puruṣa ānīyatām* is uttered ?

नापि ब्रूमः अन्यस्यानयनं भवति इति

We never say that another is brought in.

कस्तर्हि एकार्थीभावकृतो विशेषः ?

What, then, is the special feature secured by *ēkārthībhāva* ?

सुबलोपो व्यवधानं यथेष्टमन्यतरेणाभि सम्बन्धः स्वर इति [1 & 2]

The absence of the elision of the case-suffix of the former member, the interception by another word between them, the absence of restriction in the order of words and the difference in accent.

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :— *Ēkārthībhāvakṛtōspi viśēṣaḥ ēkārthībhāva ityucyate.*

NOTE :—2. The expression *Etēṣām abhāvaḥ* after *iti* found in the manuscript might have been let slip by the scribe :

सुबलोपो भवति वाक्ये - राज्ञः पुरुषः इति । समासे [3] पुनर्न भवति राजपुरुषः इति ।

1. This is noted as a *vārttika* in Sri Guruprasada Sastri's edition.
2. These are the *viśēṣas* of *ēkārthībhāvābhāva*.
3. तु is another reading.

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There is the absence of the elision of case-suffix in the former member of the phrase - *Rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*; but it (*sub-alōpa*) is absent in a compound, as in *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

व्यवधानं च भवति वाक्ये - राज्ञ ऋद्धस्य पुरुषः इति । समासे तु न भवति राजपुरुष इति ।

There is interception in the phrase - *Rājña ṛddhasya puruṣaḥ*; but it is absent in the compound, *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

यथेष्टमन्यतरेणाभिसम्बन्धो भवति वाक्ये - राज्ञः पुरुषः, पुरुषो राज्ञः इति । समासे न भवति, राजपुरुष इति ।

The order of words in a phrase may vary according to the will of the speaker, as in *Rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and *Puruṣō rājñaḥ*; but it is not the case in the compound, *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

द्वौ स्वरौ भवतो वाक्ये राज्ञः पुरुषः इति । समासे पुनरेक एव राजपुरुषः इति

The two words in a phrase like *Rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* take each its accent (so that *ā* in *rājñaḥ* and *u* after *p* in *puruṣaḥ* take the *udātta*); but only one syllable takes *udātta* in a compound.

नैत एकार्थीभावकृता विशेषाः

These are not the special features secured by *ēkārthībhāva*.

किं तर्हि? What then are these?

वाचनिकान्येतानि । आह हि भगवान्, सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः, उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, समासान्तस्य उदात्तो भवति इति

These are secured by the *sūtras* read; for the revered *Ācārya* has read the *sūtras Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ* (enjoining the elision of the case-suffix), *Upasarjanam pūrvam* (restricting the order) and *Samāsāntasya udāttō bhavati*.

इमे तर्हि एकार्थीभावकृता विशेषाः - सङ्ख्याविशेषो व्यक्ताभिधानम् उपसर्जन-विशेषणं चयोगः इति [1] ।

These, then, are the special features secured from *ēkārthībhāva*:—*saṅkhyāviśēṣa*, *vyaktābhidhāna*, *upasarjanaviśēṣaṇa* and *cayōga*.

सङ्ख्याविशेषो भवति वाक्ये - राज्ञः पुरुषः, राज्ञोः पुरुषः, राज्ञां पुरुष इति । समासे न भवति राजपुरुषः इति ।

1. एतेषामभावः seems to be absent here.

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There is clear indication of numbers in *vākya*, as in *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* (singular number), *rājñōḥ puruṣaḥ* (dual number) and *rājñām puruṣaḥ* (plural number) and it is not so in the compound word *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

अस्ति कारणं येनैतदेवं भवति There is a cause by which it is so.

किं कारणम्? What is the cause?

योऽसौ विशेषवाची शब्दः तदसान्निध्यात् । अङ्ग, हि भवांस्तमुच्चारयतु गंस्यते स विशेषः

On account of the absence of the element denoting the *viśēṣa*. You, sir, better pronounce that element and the *viśēṣa* will be seen.

ननु च नैतेनैवं भवितव्यम् । न हि शब्दकृतेन नामार्थेन भवितव्यम् । अर्थकृतेन नाम शब्देन भवितव्यम् ।

No, it is not the case. The meaning is not decided by the use of words; but words are used to suit the sense.

तदेतदेवं दृश्यताम् - अर्थरूपमेवैतदेवंजातीयकं येनात्र विशेषो न गम्यत इति ।

Hence it may here be seen that the sense here is of such a nature as does not allow the *viśēṣa* to be known.

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते - योऽसौ विशेषवाची शब्दः तदसान्निध्यादत्र विशेषो न गम्यते इति, इह तस्य विशेषो गम्यते - अप्सुचरः, गोपुचरः, वर्षासुजः इति ।

This point should be certainly borne in mind. Let him who thinks that the *viśēṣa* is not seen on account of the element denoting it, find the *viśēṣa* in the expressions *apsu-caraḥ*, *gōṣu-caraḥ* and *varṣāsu-jaḥ* (where it is definitely seen).

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Gōṣu-caraḥ kukkuṭa ucyatē. Ekasyām gavi, dvayōḥ, bahuṣu vā yaś carati sa sarvōssāu aviśēṣēṇa ucyatē.*

व्यक्ताभिधानं भवति वाक्ये - ब्राह्मणस्य कम्बलस्तिष्ठति । समासे पुनरव्यक्तम्, ब्राह्मणकम्बलस्तिष्ठति इति; सन्देहो भवति सम्बुद्धिर्वा स्यात्, षष्ठीसमासो वेति

There is explicit mention in *vākya*, as in *brāhmaṇasya kambalas tiṣṭhati*. But in *samāsa*, on the other hand, it is not explicit. For instance in the expression *Brāhmaṇakambalas tiṣṭhati*, there arises a doubt whether *brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* is made up of

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the vocative *brāhmaṇa* and *kambalaḥ* or whether it is *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*.

NOTE :—The words *vākya* and *samāsa* seem to indicate the use of case-suffix and its elision. If *samāsa*, on the other hand, means compound, how can the vocative *brāhmaṇa* compound with *kambala* ?

एषोऽप्यविशेषः । भवति हि किञ्चिद्वाक्येऽव्यक्तं, तच्च समासे व्यक्तम् । वाक्ये तावदव्यक्तम् 'अर्द्धं पशोर्देवदत्तस्य इति; सन्देहो भवति - पशुगुणस्य वा देवदत्तस्य यदर्द्धम्, अथ वा योसौ संज्ञीभूतः पशुर्नाम तस्य यदर्द्धम् इति । तच्च समासे व्यक्तं भवति अर्द्धपशुर्देवदत्तस्य इति ।

Besides, this need not be taken as a special feature. For sometimes there is the want of explicitness in *vākya* but there is explicitness in *samāsa*. For instance in the expression *Arddham paśōr Dēvadattasya*, there is the doubt whether *arddham* is qualified by *Dēvadatta* who has the qualities of a *paśu* belonging to *Dēvadatta*; but in the compound *ardha-paśuḥ* in the expression *Arddhapaśur Dēvadattasya*, it is explicit.

उपसर्जनविशेषणं भवति वाक्ये - ऋद्धस्य राज्ञः पुरुष इति । समासे न भवति राजपुरुष इति

The member which becomes *upasarjana* in *samāsa* can take a *viśēṣaṇa* in *vākya*, as in *Ṛddhasya rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*; but it cannot do so in a compound, as in *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

NOTE :—*Rājan* in *rājapuruṣaḥ* is *upasarjana*, since it, subordinating its meaning, denotes another.

एषोऽप्यविशेषः । समासेऽप्युपसर्जनविशेषणं भवति; तद्यथा - देवदत्तस्य गुरुकुलं, देवदत्तस्य गुरुपुत्रः, देवदत्तस्य दासभार्या इति ।

This, too, is not a special feature. *Upasarjana* member in a *samāsa* too takes a *viśēṣaṇa*, as the word *guru* in *Dēvadattasya gurukulam*, *Dēvadattasya guruputraḥ* and *Dēvadattasya dāsabhāryā*.

चयोगो भवति वाक्ये, स्वचयोगः स्वामिचयोगश्चेति । स्वचयोगः - राज्ञो गौश्च अश्वश्च पुरुषश्च इति; समासे न भवति - राज्ञो गवाश्वपुरुषाः इति । स्वामिचयोगः - देवदत्तस्य च यज्ञदत्तस्य च विष्णुमित्रस्य च गौः इति; समासे न भवति - देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्राणां गौः इति ।

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There is the association with the *nipāta ca* in the *vākya* of both of the objects owned and of the owners. The objects owned are in association with *ca*, as in *Rājñaḥ gāuś ca aśvaś ca puruṣaś ca*; but it is not so in *samāsa* as in *Rājñō gavāśva-purūṣāḥ*. The owners are in association with *ca* as in *Dēvadattasya ca Yajñadattasya ca Viṣṇumitrasya ca gāuḥ* and it is not so in the compound *Dēvadatta-Yajñadatta-Viṣṇumitrāṇām gāuḥ*.

अथैतस्मिन्नेकार्थीभावकृते विशेषे किं स्वाभाविकं शब्दैरर्थानामभिधानम्[1] आहोस्विद्वाचनिकम्?

With reference to this *viśēṣa* in *ēkārthībhāva*, is the capacity of words giving the sense *svābhāvika* (innate) or *vācanika* (stated in *sūtras*)?

स्वाभाविकमित्याह[2] He says that it is *svābhāvika*.

कुत एतत्? Why is it so?

अर्थानादेशनात् । न ह्यर्था आदिश्यन्ते

On account of the non-mention of *artha*. For the meanings are not stated.

कथं पुनरर्थानादिशन्नेवं ब्रूयात् - नार्था आदिश्यन्ते इति, यदाह भगवान् अनेकमन्यपदार्थे, चार्थे द्वन्द्वः, अपत्ये, रक्ते, निर्वृत्ते इति

How can it be said that the *arthas* are not stated. The *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) reads *Anēkam anyapadārthē* (2, 2, 24), *Cārthē dvandvaḥ* (2, 2, 29), *Apatyē*, *raktē* (5, 4. 32), *Nirvṛttē* (4, 4. 19).

नैतान्यर्थादेशनानि । स्वभावत एतेषां शब्दानामेतेष्वर्थेषु अभिनिविष्टानां निमित्तत्वेनान्वाख्यानं क्रियते । तद्यथा, कूपे हस्तदक्षिणः पन्थाः, अभ्रे चन्द्रमसं पश्य इति । स्वभावतः तत्रस्थस्य पथः चन्द्रमसश्च निमित्तत्वेन अन्वाख्यानं क्रियते । एवमिहापि चार्थे यः स द्वन्द्वसमासः, अन्यपदार्थे यः स बहुव्रीहिः इति

These do not enjoin the meaning. The words are given the *saṁjñās* for guidance on the basis of the meaning which they naturally denote. This may be illustrated thus:—There are

1. *Arthābhidhānam* is the reading in Sri Guruprasada Sastri's edition.
2. Sri Guruprasada Sastri feels that there should have been a *vārttika* *Svābhāvikam arthānādēśanāt*.

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the sentences:—The path lies to the right of the well and look at the moon at the sky. The path already exists and also the moon. These sentences simply serve as the guidance to determine the path and the direction of the moon.

किं पुनः कारणमर्था नादिश्यन्ते ?

Why are not meanings enjoined?

तच्च लघ्वर्थम् । लघ्वर्थं ह्यर्था नादिश्यन्ते

It is for the sake of brevity; the meanings are not enjoined for the sake of brevity.

अवश्यं ह्यनेनार्थानादिशता केन चिच्छब्देनार्थनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः स्यात् । तस्य च तावत् केन कृतो येनासौ क्रियते । अथ तस्य केन कृतः, तस्य केन कृतः, तस्य केन कृत इति अनवस्था च स्यात् ।

By him who attempts to enjoin the meaning of words, another word should be sought for to give the meaning of one word; another word should again be sought after, by which the meaning of this can be given and so on, so that there will be no end to it.

असम्भवः खल्वप्यर्थादेशनस्य । को हि नाम समर्थो धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामर्थानादेष्टुम् ।

There is no possibility for *arthādēśana*. Is there any one who is competent to enjoin the meanings of *prātipadikas*, *pratyayas* and *nipātas*?

न चैतन्मन्तव्यं प्रत्ययार्थे निर्दिष्टे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽनिर्दिष्ट इति । भवति हि गुणाभिधाने गुणिनः सम्प्रत्ययः । तद्यथा - शुक्लः, कृष्णः इति

It is not to be taken that, where the meaning of *pratyaya* is stated, the meaning of the stem is not stated. For, where *guṇa* is stated, *guṇin* is understood, as in the words *śuklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ*.

विषम उपन्यासः । सामान्यशब्दा एते एवं स्युः । सामान्यशब्दाश्च नान्तरेण विशेषं प्रकरणं वा विशेषेष्ववतिष्ठन्ते । यतस्तु खलु नियोगतो वृक्ष इत्युक्ते स्वभावतः कस्मिंश्चिदेव विशेषे वृक्षशब्दो वर्तते, अतो मन्यामहे नेमे सामान्यशब्दा इति । न चेत् सामान्यशब्दाः, प्रकृतिः प्रकृत्यर्थे वर्तते, प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययार्थे च वर्तते

The argument is not sound. These words - *śuklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ* are *sāmānyaśabdas* i. e. they denote all *dravyas* which are

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white, or black. Without either their *viśēṣya* or the context, it is not possible to determine the particular object which they refer to. On the other hand, at the mention of a word like *vṛkṣa*, it, without its context or *viśēṣya* being determined, invariably denotes by nature a special *dravya* and hence we conclude that such words are not *sāmānyaśabdas*. If they are not *sāmānyaśabdas*, their *prakṛti* has its own meaning.

अप्रवृत्तिः खल्वप्यर्थादेशनस्य । बहवोऽपि हि शब्दा येषामर्था न विज्ञायन्ते - जर्भरी तूर्फरीतू । अन्तरेण खल्वपि शब्दप्रयोगं बहवोऽर्था गम्यन्ते - अक्षिनिकोचैः, पाणिविहारैश्च । न खल्वपि निर्ज्ञातस्यार्थस्यान्वाख्याने किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनमस्ति । यो हि ब्रूयात् पुरस्ताद् आदित्य उदेति पश्चादस्तं गच्छति, मधुरो गुडः, कटुकं शृङ्गबेरम् इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ?

There will be at the same time no tendency to enjoin the meaning of words. For there are many words like *jarbharī*, *tūrpharītu* whose meanings have not been determined; besides ideas are expressed even without words through twinkling of the eyes or the motion of the palm of the hand. There is, besides, no use in enjoining the meanings, which are well-known. What is the purpose gained by one who says, "Sun rises in the east and sets in the west," "Jaggery is sweet and ginger is punjent"?

वावचनानर्थक्यं च स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्

Non-necessity of *adhikāra-sūtra Vibhāṣā* (2, 1, 11) since its purpose is served by nature.

वावचनमनर्थकम्

The *mahāvibhāṣā* by the *sūtra* 2, 1, 11 is not necessary.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् Since it is inherent by nature.

इह द्वौ पक्षौ, वृत्तिपक्षश्च अवृत्तिपक्षश्च इति । स्वभावतश्चैतद्भवति वाक्यं च समासश्च । तत्र स्वाभाविके वृत्तिविषये नित्ये समासे प्राप्ते वावचनेन किमन्यत् शक्यमभिसम्बन्धुमन्यद् अतः संज्ञायाः ? न च संज्ञाया भावाभावाविष्येते । तस्मान्नार्थो वावचनेन ।

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There are two sides here, *vṛttipakṣa* and *avṛttipakṣa*. It is in the nature of words to remain independent or to compound with one another. Since the stage of *nitya-samāsa*, which is the *viṣaya* of *vṛtti*, is secured by nature, with what can *vibhāṣā* be associated except with the *saṁjñā*? But the presence of the *saṁjñā* and its absence are not desired. Hence the *vibhāṣā* does not serve any purpose.

अथ ये वृत्तिं वर्तयन्ति किं त आहुः ?

Those, then, who establish through *śāstra* alone the *vṛtti* (*ēkārthībhāva*), what do they say?

परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिरित्याहुः

They say that *vṛtti* is that where one word has the capacity of giving the meaning of another.

अथ तेषामेवं ब्रुवतां किं जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिर्भवति, आहोस्विद् अजहत्स्वार्था भवति ?

Do those who establish the existence of *vṛtti* admit *jahat-svārthā-vṛtti* or *ajahatsvārthā-vṛtti*?

किं चातः ? What difference does it make?

यदि जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः स्यात् "राजपुरुषमानय" इत्युक्ते पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति, "औपगवमानय" इत्युक्ते अपत्यमात्रस्य । अथ अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः उभयोर्विद्यमानस्वार्थयोर्द्वयोर्द्विवचनमिति द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*, there is chance for the *ānayana* of the *puruṣa* alone, on hearing the sentence *Rājapuruṣam ānaya* and there is chance for the *ānayana* of the *apatya* alone, on hearing the sentence *Āupagavam ānaya*. But, on the other hand, if it is *ajahatsvārthā vṛtti*, there is chance for the use of the dual number on the strength of *Dvayōr dvivacanam* as *rājapuruṣāu* and *āupagavāu*.

का पुनर्वृत्तिर्न्याय्या ?

Which *vṛtti* is then legitimate to be taken?

जहत्स्वार्था - *Jahat-svārthā* is the legitimate one.

युक्तं पुनर्यज्जहत्स्वार्था नाम वृत्तिः स्यात् ?

Is it reasonable to admit *jahat-svārthā vṛtti*?

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NOTE:—This question arises that, since words are used to signify their meanings, they may not at all be used if they are not taken to convey any meaning.

बाढं युक्तम् । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके, पुरुषोऽयं परकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति । तद्यथा - तक्षा राजकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं तक्षकर्म जहाति । एवं युक्तं यद्राजा पुरुषार्थे वर्तमानः स्वमर्थं जह्यात्, उपगुश्च अपत्यार्थे वर्तमानः स्वमर्थं जह्यात् ।
It is perfectly reasonable. It is thus seen in the world that the man engaged in the service of another has to give up his own work. A carpenter in the royal service gives up his own work. So also the word *rājā* engaged in conveying the meaning of *puruṣa* gives up its meaning and the word *Upagu*, engaged in conveying the meaning of *apatya* gives up its own meaning.

ननु चोक्तं राजपुरुषमानय इत्युक्ते पुरुषमात्रस्य आनयनं प्राप्नोति, औपगवमानय इत्युक्ते अपत्यमात्रस्य इति ।
Oh, it has been said that, on hearing the sentence *Rāja-puruṣam ānaya*, there is chance to fetch *puruṣa* alone and that, on hearing the sentence *Āupagavaṁ ānaya*, there is chance to fetch *apatya* alone.

नैष दोषः । जहदप्यसौ स्वार्थं नात्यन्ताय जहाति । यः परार्थविरोधी स्वार्थस्तं जहाति; तद्यथा - तक्षा राजकर्मणि प्रवर्त्तमानः स्वं तक्षकर्म जहाति, न तु हिक्कितश्वसितहसितकण्डूयितानि; न चायमर्थः परार्थविरोधी विशेषणं नाम, तस्मात्तन्न हास्यति ।
There is no room for this difficulty. He, though he gives up his work, does not give it up entirely. That which is detrimental to other's work, he gives it up. This may be taken as an illustration that a carpenter engaged in royal service gives up his own carpenter's work and does not give up hiccough, breathing, laughing and relieving his itching sensation. The *viśēṣaṇatva* which the word conveys is not detrimental to its giving the meaning of another and hence it does not give it up.

NOTE:—It gives up the *viśēṣyatva* in its meaning.

अथवा अन्वयाद् विशेषणं भविष्यति; तद्यथा, घृतघटः तैलघटः इति । निषिक्ते घृते तैले च अन्वयाद् विशेषणं भवति, अयं घृतघटः अयं तैलघट इति ।

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Or it becomes the *viśēṣaṇa* on account of its having left its trace, as the words *ghṛta* and *tāila* in the compounds *ghṛta-ghaṭa* and *tāila-ghaṭa*. Even after *ghṛta* (ghee) or (*tāila*) (oil) is poured out, the vessel is called *ghṛta-ghaṭa* or *tāila-ghaṭa*, since the trace of *ghṛta* or *tāila* is left.

विषम उपन्यासः । भवति हि तत्र या च यावती च अर्थमात्रा । अङ्ग, हि भवानग्नौ निष्टप्य घृतघटं तृणकूर्चेन प्रक्षालयतु, न गंस्यते स विशेषः ।

The argument is not sound. It can be called *ghṛta-ghaṭa* or *tāila-ghaṭa*, only so long as the trace is left there. Sir, when you heat it in fire and clean it with the brush made of *kuśa* grass, there is no trace of ghee or oil left there.

यथा तर्हि मल्लिकापुटः चम्पकपुटः इति । निष्कीर्णास्वपि सुमनःसु अन्वयाद्विशेषणं भवति, अयं मल्लिकापुटः अयं चम्पकपुट इति ।

If so, the words *mallikā* and *campaka* in the compounds *mallikā-puṭaḥ* and *campakapuṭaḥ* form the examples. For even after the flowers are taken away, they are called *mallikāpuṭaḥ* and *campakapuṭaḥ* and *mallikā* and *campaka* form *viśēṣaṇas*, since they have left their trace there.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* here reads :–*Viśēṣaṇam=viśēṣakaḥ=itaravyāvartakaḥ*.

अथ वा समर्थाधिकारोऽयं वृत्तौ क्रियते

Or the word *samartha* is taken in *vṛtti* through *adhikāra*.

सामर्थ्यं नाम भेदः संसर्गो वा । अपर आह भेदसंसर्गो वा सामर्थ्यमिति

Sāmarthya is *bhēda* or *saṁsarga*. Another says that both *bhēda* and *saṁsarga* form *sāmarthya*.

कः पुनर्भेदो संसर्गो वा ? What is *bhēda*? What is *saṁsarga*?

इह राज्ञ इत्युक्ते सर्वं स्वं प्रसक्तम्; पुरुष इत्युक्ते सर्वः स्वामी प्रसक्तः । इहेदानीं राजपुरुषमानय इत्युक्ते राजा पुरुषं निवर्तयत्यन्येभ्यः स्वामिभ्यः, पुरुषोऽपि राजानमन्येभ्यः स्वेभ्यः । एवम् एतस्मिन्नुभयतो व्यवच्छिन्ने यदि स्वार्थं जहाति, कामं जहातु, न जातुचित् पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं भविष्यति ।

On the mention of the word *rājñaḥ*, all that forms his property have a chance to be used after it; and on the mention of the word *puruṣaḥ*, all those who form his masters have a chance to be used before it. But if the sentence

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Rājapuruṣam ānaya is read, the word *rajān* eliminates other masters of *puruṣa* and the word *puruṣa* eliminates other properties of *rājan*. If, after both have restricted the application of each other, *rājan* leaves off its meaning, let it leave it. Never can *puruṣa* who has no connection with *rājan* be fetched.

अथवा पुनरस्त्वजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः

Or let *ajahat-svārthā vṛtti* be the legitimate one.

युक्तं पुनरिदं यदजहत्स्वार्था नाम वृत्तिः स्यात्?

Is it reasonable to admit *ajahatsvārthā vṛtti*?

बाढं युक्तम् । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके, भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते ।

It is perfectly reasonable. It is thus seen in the world that a beggar having received alms once, proceeds to get it elsewhere without leaving the former and tries to add one to another.

ननु चोक्तम्, उभयोर्विद्यमानस्वार्थयोर्द्वयोर्द्विवचनमिति द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति इति ।

Oh, it has been said that there is chance for the use of the dual number on the strength of the *sūtra Dvayōr dvivacanam* on account of both conveying their meaning.

कस्याः पुनर्द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति? Whose dual number has a chance?

प्रथमायाः Of the nominative case.

न प्रथमासमर्थो राजा

Rājan has not the *sāmarthya* with the nominative case.

षष्ठ्यास्तर्हि प्राप्नोति

There is, then, a chance for the dual of the genetive case.

न षष्ठीसमर्थः पुरुषः

Puruṣa has not the *sāmarthya* with the genetive case.

प्रथमाया एव तर्हि प्राप्नोति

If so, the dual of the nominative itself has a chance.

ननु चोक्तम्, न प्रथमासमर्थो राजा इति

Oh, it was said that *rājan* has no *sāmarthya* with the nominative case.

अभिहितः सः, अन्तर्भूतः प्रातिपदिकार्थः सम्पन्नः । तत्र प्रातिपदिकार्थे प्रथमा इति प्रथमाया एव द्विवचनं प्राप्नोति ।

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It (meaning of the sixth case) is mentioned and the meaning of the *prātipadika* is implied. Hence *prathamā* may set in on the authority of *Prātipadikārthē prathamā* and hence the dual of the nominative alone has a chance to set in.

सङ्घातस्यैकार्थ्यान्नावयवसङ्ख्यातः सुबुत्पत्तिः

The presence of the case-suffix is not based on the number of the parts on account of the whole being one.

सङ्घातस्यैकत्वमर्थः । तेनावयवसङ्ख्यातः सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति ।

Ekatva (oneness) of the whole is the meaning. Hence case-suffix is not used on the basis of the number of parts.

परस्परव्यपेक्षां सामर्थ्यमेके

Some think that *sāmarthya* is *parasparavyapēkṣā*.

परस्परव्यपेक्षां सामर्थ्यमेक इच्छन्ति

Some favour the view that *sāmarthya* is *parasparavyapēkṣā*.

का पुनः शब्दयोर्व्यपेक्षा ?

What is this, the *vyapēkṣā* of two *śabdas*?

न ब्रूमः शब्दयोरिति

We do not say that it is between two *śabdas*?

किं तर्हि ? Between what then?

अर्थयोः । इह राज्ञः पुरुष इत्युक्ते राजा पुरुषमपेक्षते - ममायमिति, पुरुषोऽपि राजानमपेक्षते - अहमस्येति । तयोरभिसम्बन्धस्य षष्ठी वाचिका भवति ।

Between *arthas*. When one says *Rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*, *rājan* needs *puruṣa* to qualify it that he is his and *puruṣa*, too, needs *rājan* to be qualified by it that his is he. The sixth case conveys that this relation exists between them.

तद्यथा कष्टं श्रित इति क्रियाकारकयोरभिसम्बन्धस्य द्वितीया वाचिका भवति

Similarly the second case in *kaṣṭam śritaḥ* conveys the relation between the *kriyā* denoted by *śrita* and *kaṣṭa* which takes the case-suffix after it.

अथ यद्येव एकार्थीभावः सामर्थ्यम् अथापि व्यपेक्षा सामर्थ्यं, किं गतमेतदियता सूत्रेण, आहोस्विद् अन्यतरस्मिन् पक्षे भूयः सूत्रं कर्तव्यम् ?

Whether it is *ēkārthībhāva-sāmarthya* or *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya*, will this *sūtra* do? Or is it necessary to read another to meet the alternative *pakṣa*?

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गतमित्याह "This *sūtra* will do," says he.

कथम्? How?

समोऽयम् अर्थशब्देन सह समासः । सं चोपसर्गः । उपसर्गाश्च पुनरेवमात्मकाः - यत्र कश्चित् क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते, तत्र क्रियाविशेषमाहुः

There is here the *samāsa* between *sam* and *artha*. *Sam* is an *upasarga*. *Upasargas* are of the nature that, wherever they are used with verbs, they enable them convey some specialised meaning.

न चेह कश्चित् क्रियावाची शब्दः प्रयुज्यते, येन समः सामर्थ्यं स्यात्

But no *dhātu* is read here along with it, so that it can have *sāmarthya* with the *kriyā* denoted by it.

तत्र प्रयोगाद् एतद् अवगन्तव्यम् - नूनमत्र कश्चित् प्रयोगार्हः शब्दो न प्रयुज्यते, येन समः सामर्थ्यमिति । तद्यथा, धूमं दृष्ट्वा अग्निरत्र इति गम्यते, त्रिविष्टब्धकं दृष्ट्वा परिव्राजक इति ।

Hence it must be determined from the usage that a word which deserves to be used with it so that *sam* may have *sāmarthya* with it is dropped. The case is similar to our inference of fire on seeing the smoke and a hermit on seeing a three-plank-book-holder.

कः पुनरसौ प्रयोगार्हः शब्दो न प्रयुज्यते?

What, then, is the word dropped here, which deserves to be read?

सङ्गतार्थं समर्थं, संसृष्टार्थं समर्थं, संप्रेक्षितार्थं समर्थं, संबद्धार्थं समर्थमिति

The word *gata* or *sṛṣṭa* and the word *prēkṣita* or *baddha* are the words dropped so that *samartham* can be split into *saṅgatam artham* or *saṁsṛṣṭam artham* and *samprēkṣitam artham* or *sambaddham artham.*

NOTE:—The roots *gam* and *sṛj* have the same meaning and *samprēkṣitam* and *sambaddham* have the same meaning.

तद्यदा तावदेकार्थीभावः सामर्थ्यम् तदैवं विग्रहः करिष्यते - सङ्गतार्थः समर्थः, संसृष्टार्थः समर्थ इति । तद्यथा - सङ्गतं घृतं, सङ्गतं तैलम् इत्युच्यते, एकीभूतमिति गम्यते ; संसृष्टार्थः समर्थ इति,[1] तद्यथा संसृष्टोऽग्निः इत्युच्यते, एकीभूत इति गम्यते ।

1. It seems *Saṁsṛṣṭārthaḥ samartha iti* here is an interpolation.

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With reference to *ēkārthībhāva-sāmarthya*, the *vigraha* is done thus:—*Saṅgatārthaḥ samarthaḥ* and *saṁsṛṣṭārthaḥ samarthaḥ*; the word *saṅgata* in *saṅgatam ghṛtam* and *saṅgatam tāilam* means *ēkībhūta* and *saṁsṛṣṭa* in *saṁsṛṣṭōsgniḥ* also means *ēkībhūta*.

यदा व्यपेक्षा सामर्थ्यं तदैवं विग्रहः करिष्यते - सम्प्रेक्षितार्थः समर्थः, सम्बद्धार्थः समर्थ इति ।

With reference to *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya*, the *vigraha* is done thus:—*Samprēkṣitārthaḥ samarthaḥ* and *sambaddhārthaḥ samarthaḥ*.

कः पुनरिह सम्बध्नात्यर्थः?

What is the meaning of *badh* with *sam*?

व्यतिषङ्गः - सम्बद्ध इत्युच्यते यो रज्ज्वायसा वा कीले व्यतिषक्तो भवति

Mutual connection. That which is tied to a stake with a rope or iron-chain is said to be *sambaddha*.

नावश्यं बध्नातिर्व्यतिषङ्ग एव वर्तते

The root *badh* does not always mean *vyatiṣaṅga*.

किं तर्हि ? What then does it mean?

अहानावपि वर्तते । तद्यथा - सम्बद्धाविमौ दम्यौ इत्युच्येते यावन्योन्यं न जहीतः

It means non-abandonment also. For instance the two bulls which do not abandon each other are said *sambaddhāu*.

अथ वा भवति चैवंजातीयकेषु बध्नातिर्वर्तते । तद्यथा, अस्ति नो गर्गैः सम्बन्धः, अस्ति नो वत्सैः सम्बन्ध इति

Or, the root *badh* is used where there is *vyapēkṣā*, as in *Asti nō Gargāiḥ sambandhaḥ* (we have relationship with *Gargas*), *Asti nō Vatsāiḥ sambandhaḥ* (we have relationship with *Vatsas*.)

अथैतस्मिन् व्यपेक्षायां सामर्थ्ये योऽसावेकार्थीभावकृतो विशेषः स वक्तव्यः

If we take into account *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya*, there is the necessity to read all the benefits accrued from *ēkārthībhāva-sāmarthya*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Yadi vṛttāu ēkārthībhāvō na abhyupagamyatē, tadā vākyavat saṅkhyāviśēṣa-upasarjana-viśēṣaṇādīnām prasaṅgāt tad-abhāvō vacanēna pratipādyaḥ.*

तत्र नानाकारकान्निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशप्रतिषेधः

There (in both) there is the need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *nighāta* and the *ādēśas* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* after words which take one case-suffix in their relation to one verb and another in their relation to another.

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तत्रैतस्मिन् व्यपेक्षायां सामर्थ्ये सति नानाकारकात् निघातात् युष्मदस्मदादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति, तेषां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

There (in *ēkārthībhāva-sāmarthya*) and here in *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya*, there is chance for *nighāta* and the *ādēśas* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* after words which take different case-suffixes, one in relation to one verb and another in relation to another.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :–*Bhinnāyāḥ kriyāyā yat kāryam tat nānākārakam.*

निघात - अयं दण्डो हरानेन । अस्ति दण्डस्य हरतेश्च व्यपेक्षेति कृत्वा निघातः प्राप्नोति ।

Nighāta (anudātta). In the expression *Ayam daṇḍō hara anēna*, there is the chance for *sarvānudātta* of *hara* (by the *Tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* (8, 1, 28) and the *vārttika Samānavākyē nighāta-yuṣmad-asmad-ādēśā vaktavyāḥ*) since it follows the word *daṇḍa* with which it has *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya.*

युष्मदस्मदादेशाः । ओदनं पच तव भविष्यति, ओदनं पच मम भविष्यति । अस्ति ओदनस्य युष्मदस्मदोश्च व्यपेक्षेति कृत्वा वाम्नावादयः प्राप्नुवन्ति

The *ādēśas* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* :–There is chance for *ta a* to be replaced by *tē* and *mama* by *mē* in the expressions *Ōdanam paca tava bhaviṣyati* and *Ōdanam paca mama bhaviṣyati* (by the *sūtras Ṣaṣṭhī...vāmnāvāu* 8, 1, 20 and *Tē mayāvēkava canasya* 8, 1, 22), since there is *vyapēkṣā-sāmarthya* between them and *ōdana.*

तेषां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः There is need to prohibit them.

किमुच्यते नानाकारकादिति, यदा तेनैवासज्य ह्रियते ?

How is it said *nānākārakād*, when the separation takes place when it comes in association with it alone.

NOTE :—The bone of contention is the expression *Ayam daṇḍaḥ hara anēna.* The objection is that *daṇḍa* is not a *kāraka* with reference to the *haraṇakriyā* and hence it is not *nānākāraka.* The answer is this :—The word *asti* is understood after it and hence it is *kartṛkāraka* with reference to *asti* and *karaṇa-kāraka* with reference to *haraṇa.*

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नापि ब्रूमः अन्येनासज्य ह्रियते इति

We do not say that separation takes place after it comes in association with another.

किं तर्हि? What then?

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् । यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्चेह सत्तामाह, अयं दण्डः । अस्तीति गम्यते । स दण्डः कर्ता भूत्वा अन्येन शब्देनाभिसम्बध्यमानः करणं सम्पद्यते ।

We have *śabda* for our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority for us. *Śabda* says here, in *Ayam daṇḍaḥ, sattā*. Hence the word *asti* is to be inferred. The *daṇḍa* being *kartā* becomes *karaṇa* in its association with another *śabda*.

तद्यथा - कश्चित् कञ्चित् पृच्छति "क देवदत्तः?" इति । स तस्मै आचष्टे असौ वृक्षे इति । कतरस्मिन्? यस्तिष्ठति इति । स वृक्षोऽधिकरणं भूत्वा अन्येन शब्देनाभिसम्बध्यमानः कर्ता सम्पद्यते ।

This may be illustrated thus:—One says to another, "Where is *Dēvadatta*?" He replies to him, "He is on the tree." In which tree? That which stands. The word tree (*vṛkṣa*) being the *adhikaraṇa* becomes *kartā* in its association with another word.

प्रचये समासप्रतिषेधः Need for *samāsa-pratiṣēdha* in *pracaya*.

प्रचये समासस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । राज्ञो गौश्च अश्वश्च पुरुषश्च राजगवाश्वपुरुषा इति ।

There is need to prohibit *samāsa* if one is associated with many, so that *rājan* when it is associated with *gō*, *aśva* and *puruṣa* cannot form the compound *rājagavāśvapuruṣāḥ*.

समर्थतराणां वा Or among those which are *samarthataru*.

समर्थतराणां वा पदानां समासो भविष्यति

There will be *samāsa* among words which are *samarthatara* (*śaktatara*).

कानि पुनः समर्थतराणि? What, then, are *samarthataras*?

यानि द्वन्द्वभावीनि

Those which can form into a *dvandva* compound.

कुत एतत्? Why is it so?

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एषां ह्याशुतरा वृत्तिः प्राप्नोति

Since they can very easily form a compound.

तद्यथा - समर्थतरोऽयं माणवकोऽध्ययनाय इत्युच्यते, आशुतरग्रन्थः इति गम्यते ।

The following may serve as an example:—If it is said that this pupil is *samarthatara* in learning, it is suggested that the book is one which can be easily learnt.

अपर आह Another says.

समर्थतराणां वा *Samarthatarāṇām vā.*

समर्थतराणां वा पदानां समासो भविष्यति

Samarthatarāṇām vā padānām samāsō bhaviṣyati.

कानि पुनः समर्थतराणि ? What, then, are *samarthataras* ?

यानि द्वन्द्वभावीनि

Those that can form into a *dvandva* compound.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it so ?

समानविभक्तीनि एतानि; अन्यविभक्ती राजा । भवति विशेषः स्वस्मिन् भ्रातरि पितृव्यपुत्रे च ।

These have the same *vibhaktis*; *rājan* (in *rājñaḥ gāuḥ, aśvaḥ, puruṣaḥ ca*) is of a different *vibhakti*. There is difference between one's own brother and paternal uncle's son.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* writes:—*Tulyajātīyatvam vyapēkṣāyām ēkārthībhāvē ca pratyāsannataram kāraṇam ityarthaḥ.*

समुदायसामर्थ्याद्वा सिद्धम्

The object is achieved by the *sāmarthya* with the *samudāya*.

समुदायसामर्थ्याद्वा पुनः सिद्धमेतत् । समुदायेन राज्ञः सामर्थ्यं भवति नावयवेन

Or the object is achieved by the *sāmarthya* with the whole. *Rājan* has *sāmarthya* with the whole (*gavāśvapuruṣāḥ*) and not with the part.

अपर आह Another says.

समर्थतराणां वा समुदायसामर्थ्यात्

Or *samāsa* among *samarthataras* on account of the *sāmarthya* with the whole.

समर्थताराणां वा पदानां समासो भविष्यति

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Or *samāsa* among *samarthataras* on account of the *sāmarthya* with the whole.

कुत एतत्? How is it so?

समुदायसामर्थ्यादेव On account of *samudāya-sāmarthya* itself.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Atra pakṣē samudāyasāmarthyam samarthataratvē hētuḥ. Samudāyasambandhē ca avayavasyāpi anumīyamānaḥ sambandhōssti iti tud-apēkṣaḥ prakarṣapratyayaḥ.*

अस्मिन्पक्षे वा इत्येतदसमर्थितं भवति

The significance of the word *vā* is not brought out in this *pakṣa*.

एतच्च समर्थितम् This too is brought out.

कथम्? How?

नैव वा पुनरत्र राज्ञोऽश्वपुरुषावपेक्षमाणस्य गवा सह समासो भवति ।

There is no *samāsa* here first with *gō* of the word *rājan* which has to combine with *aśva* and *puruṣa* later on.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

गोः राजानमपेक्षमाणस्य अश्वपुरुषाभ्यां सह समासो भवति

Here is *samāsa* between *gō* which expects *rājan* to be its *viśēṣaṇa* and *aśvapuruṣāu.*

प्रधानमत्र तदा गौर्भवति । भवति च प्रधानस्य सापेक्षस्यापि समासः

Gāuḥ becomes *pradhāna* here. *Pradhāna*, though *sāpēkṣa*, can combine with what follows.

V

आख्यातं साव्ययकारकविशेषणं वाक्यम्

Vākya (sentence) is the finite verb modified by *avyayas* and *kārakas* with or without *viśēṣaṇas.*

NOTE:—The need for the definition of *vākya* arises, since *sarvānudāttatva* happens sometimes and does not happen in other places in *vākyas*. Such *vākyas* are not the same as the *lāukika-vākyas.*

आख्यातं साव्ययं सकारकं सकारकविशेषणं वाक्यसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be stated that a finite verb modified by *avyayas*, *kārakas* and *kārakas* qualified by adjectives takes the *vākya-saṁjñā.*

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(साव्ययम्) - उच्चैः पठति, नीचैः पठति

(*Ākhyāta* with *avyaya*):—*Uccāiḥ paṭhati* and *nīcāiḥ paṭhati.*

(सकारकम्) - ओदनं पचति

(*Ākhyāta* with *kāraka*):—*Ōdanam pacati.*

(सकारकविशेषणम्) - ओदनं मृदु विशदं पचति

(*Ākhyāta* with *sakārakaviśēṣaṇa*):—*Ōdanam mṛdu viśadam pacati.*

सक्रियाविशेषणं च

(Need to read) along with compliments of verbs also.

सक्रियाविशेषणं चेति वक्तव्यम् - सुष्टु पचति, दुष्टु पचति इति

Sakriyāviśēṣaṇam also is to be read :—*Suṣṭhu pacati* and *Duṣṭhu pacati.*

अपर आह आख्यातं सविशेषणं इत्येव । सर्वाणि ह्येतानि क्रियाविशेषणानि ।

Another says that *Ākhyātam saviśēṣaṇam* will do, since all these are *kriyāviśēṣaṇas.*

एकतिङ्

That which has the finite verb repeated (gets the *vākyasaṁjñā*).

एकतिङ् वाक्यसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, ब्रूहि ब्रूहि

That which has the finite verb repeated as *brūhi brūhi* must be given the *vākyasaṁjñā.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Ēkaśabdaḥ samānavacanaḥ na tu saṅkhyāvācī ; bahuvrīhiś ca ayam.*

समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशाः

Need to read the presence of *nighāta*, *yuṣmadādēśa* and *asmadādēśa* in the same *vākya.*

समानवाक्ये इति प्रकृत्य निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशाः वक्तव्याः

It is necessary to read that *nighāta*, *yuṣmad-ādēśa* and *asmad-ādēśa* occur only in the same sentence.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

नानावाक्येषु मा भूवन्निघातादय इति - अयं दण्डः, हर अनेन; ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति; ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति

So that *nighāta* etc. need not occur in the following pairs of sentences :—*Ayam daṇḍaḥ, hara anēna ; Ōdanam paca, tava bhaviṣyati ; Ōdanam paca, mama bhaviṣyati.*

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योगे प्रतिषेधश्चादिभिः

Need for *pratiṣēdha* when there is the association with *ca* etc.

चादिभिर्योगे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ग्रामस्तव च स्वं, मम च स्वम्

There is need for *pratiṣēdha* when there is the association with *ca* etc. *Viz. Grāmaḥ tava ca svam, mama ca svam.*

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते, यथान्यास एव चादिभिर्योगे प्रतिषेध उच्यते ?

What for is this (*vākyalakṣaṇam* and *pratiṣēdha*) said here, when the *pratiṣēdha* is found in the *sūtra Na ca vāhāhāiva-yuktē* (8, 1, 24)?

इदमद्यापूर्वं क्रियते वाक्यसंज्ञा, समानवाक्याधिकारश्च । तद् द्वेष्यं विजानीयात् सर्वमेतद्विकल्पत इति । तदाचार्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा अन्वाचष्टे चादिभिर्योगे यथान्यासमेव भवति इति । सा चावश्यं वाक्यसंज्ञा वक्तव्या, समानवाक्याधिकारश्च वक्तव्यः ।

Here *vākyasaṁjñā* and *samānavākyādhikāra* are enjoined afresh. One will, at once, think that this is antagonistic to the *sūtra Na ca vā......* and hence will proclaim that there will be *vikalpa* [1] for everything (on the dictum *Tulyabalāir virōdhē vikalpaḥ*). Hence *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) with an affectionate heart tells us that there is no *vikalpa* to what is enjoined in the *sūtra Na ca vā...* and hence reads the *vārttika Yōgē pratiṣēdhaḥ cādibhiḥ* in consonance with it. Hence *vākyasaṁjñā* is necessarily to be enjoined and also *samānavākyādhikāra*.

समर्थनिघाते हि समानाधिकरणयुक्तयुक्तेषूपसङ्ख्यानमसमर्थत्वात्

With reference to *nighāta* etc. after a word which is *samartha*, addition has to be made of those that are in apposition or that are connected with the word which is *samartha*, on account of their being *asamartha*.

समर्थनिघाते हि सति समानाधिकरणयुक्तयुक्तेषूपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यं स्यात् । (समानाधिकरणे) - पटवे ते दास्यामि, मृदवे ते दास्यामि । (युक्तयुक्ते) नद्यास्तिष्ठति कूले, वृक्षस्य लम्बते शाखायां, शालीनां ते ओदनं ददामि, शालीनां मे ओदनं ददासि ।

With reference to *nighāta*, *yuṣmad-ādēśa* and *asmad-ādēśa* after a word which is *samartha*, there is need to add that the same happens after a word which is in apposition with it or is related to it. *Viz. Paṭavē tē dāsyāmi* and *mṛdavē tē dāsyāmi.* (Here

1. But *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* takes *vikalpatē* in the sense of *vyāpnōti*.

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tava is replaced by *tē* after *paṭavē* and *mṛdavē* which are in apposition with *tava*) *Nadyās tiṣṭhati kūlē* and *vṛkṣasya lambatē śākhāyām*. (Here *tiṣṭhati* and *lambatē* take *nighāta* after *nadyās* and *vṛkṣaya* which are related only to *kūlē* and *śākhāyām* which are *samartha*. *Śālīnām tē ōdanam dadāmi* and *śālīnām mē ōdanam dadāsi*. (Here *tē* and *mē* are found after *śālīnām* which is related only to *ōdanam* which is *samartha*).

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why is it not accomplished?

असमर्थत्वात् Since they are not *samartha*.

VI

राजगवीक्षीरे द्विसमासप्रसङ्गो द्विषष्ठीभावात्

There is chance for two *samāsas* with reference to the word *rājagavīkṣīram* on account of the presence of two words in the sixth case.

राजगवीक्षीरे द्विसमासप्रसङ्गः

There is chance for another *samāsa* in the place of *rājagavīkṣīram*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Rājñaḥ yā gāuḥ, tasyāḥ kṣīram ityētasmin arthē rājagōkṣīram ityapi prāpnōti.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

द्विषष्ठीभावात् - द्वे ह्यत्र षष्ठ्यौ - राज्ञो गोः क्षीरम् इति

On account of the presence of two *ṣaṣṭhīs*. For there are two *ṣaṣṭhīs* - here *rājñaḥ* and *gōḥ* in *Rājñaḥ gōḥ kṣīram*.

किमुच्यते द्विसमासप्रसङ्ग इति,[1] यावता सुप्सुपेति वर्तते?

How is it said *dvi-samāsa-prasaṅga* when the *sūtra Sup supā* enjoins that *subanta* compounds with *subanta*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Saṅkhyāyāḥ vivakṣitatvāt samudāyasya ca asubantatvāt nāsti samāsaprasaṅga ityarthaḥ.*

द्विसमासप्रसङ्ग इति नैवं विज्ञायते द्वयोः सुबन्तयोः समासप्रसङ्गो द्विसमासप्रसङ्ग इति

The word *dvisamāsaprasaṅgaḥ* is not split thus:—*Dvayōḥ subantayōḥ samāsaprasaṅgaḥ*.

1. यदा सुप्सुपेति वर्तते न तदा द्विसमासप्रसङ्गः इति is the reading of Pandurang Jawaji's edition.

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कथं तर्हि? How then?

द्विप्रकारस्य समासस्य प्रसङ्गो द्विसमासप्रसङ्ग इति । राजगोक्षीरम् इत्यपि प्राप्नोति

Dvisamāsaprasaṅgaḥ is split thus:—*Dviprakārasya samāsasya prasaṅgaḥ*. (Hence) there is chance for the form *rāja-gō-kṣīram* alone.

न चैवं भवितव्यम्? Can it not be so?

भवितव्यं च यदैतद्वाक्यं भवति - गोः क्षीरं गोक्षीरं, राज्ञो गोक्षीरं राजगोक्षीरम् इति

It can be so, if the *samāsa* is of this nature:—*Gōḥ kṣīram gōkṣīram*; *rājñaḥ gōkṣīram rājagōkṣīram*.

NOTE:—The word *rājagōkṣīram* can only mean *cow's milk belonging to the king*. Hence the cow need not belong to him.

यदा त्वेतद्वाक्यं भवति - राज्ञः गोः क्षीरम् इति, तदा न भवितव्यम्; तदा च प्राप्नोति । तदा कस्मान्न भवति?

When it is the *samāsa* of *rājñaḥ gōḥ kṣīram*, it should not take that form. But it has a chance to take that form. What prevents it from taking it?

सिद्धं तु राजविशिष्टाया गोः क्षीरेण सामर्थ्यात्

The object is achieved on account of the *sāmarthya* of *gō* belonging to the king with *kṣīra*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

राजविशिष्टाया गोः क्षीरेण सह समासो भवति, न केवलायाः

Samāsa takes place between *gō* belonging to the king and *kṣīra* and not between any *gō* and *kṣīra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be stated?

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it to be so understood unless it is stated?

यथैवायं गवि यतते, न च क्षीरमात्रेण सन्तोषं करोति, एवं राजन्यपि यतते राज्ञो या गौः तस्या यत् क्षीरम् इति ।

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Just as one, not being satisfied with any milk, seeks after *gō*, so also he, not being satisfied with cow belonging to any man, seeks after it which belongs to the king.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Gōḥ pūrvam rājñā sambandhaḥ, paścāt kṣīrēṇa. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads:—*Yēna kramēṇa sambandhaḥ tat-kramēṇāiva samāsa-śāstra-pravṛttiḥ.*

नैव वा पुनरत्र गो राजानमपेक्षमाणायाः क्षीरेण सह समासः प्राप्नोति

Oh! here is no chance for *gō* which expects *rājan* to qualify it to compound itself with *kṣīra*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

असामर्थ्यात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? How is it that *sāmarthya* is absent?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवतीति

That which expects another to qualify it is not *samartha* to compound itself with another.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads:—"*Saviśēṣaṇānām vṛttir na*" *ityatra saviśēṣaṇatvam api ākāṅkṣā-labhya-viśēṣaṇavattvam ēva iti na dōṣaḥ.*

कथं तर्हि गोः क्षीरमपेक्षमाणाया राज्ञा सह समासो भवति?

How is it then there is *samāsa* between *rājan* and *gō* when the latter expects to be compounded with *kṣīra*?

प्रधानमत्र तदा गौर्भवति । भवति च प्रधानस्य सापेक्षस्यापि समासः

Gō becomes *pradhāna* then. *Pradhāna* can compound with another even though it is *sāpēkṣa*.

VII

अथ किमर्थं पदविधौ समर्थाधिकारः क्रियते?

What for is *samarthādhikāra* made in *pada-vidhi*?

NOTE :—Since it has already been decided that the *sūtra Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* is a *paribhāṣā* and not an *adhikāra-sūtra*, it may strike one whether the use of the word *adhikāra* above is appropriate. True, it is not so. But *Kāiyaṭa* explains it this way:—Since *pārārthya* is common to both, *paribhāṣā* is referred to here by the word *adhikāra*; for *adhikāra* is *viniyōga*. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* gives the meaning of the word *viniyōga* to be *Śāstrāntarē upasthitiḥ*.

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पदविधौ समर्थवचनं वर्णाश्रये शास्त्रे आनन्तर्यविज्ञानात्

Mention of *samartha* with reference to *pada-vidhi* is for the sake of suggesting *ānantarya* alone in *varṇāśraya-vidhi.*

पदविधौ समर्थाधिकारः क्रियते, वर्णाश्रये शास्त्रे आनन्तर्यमात्रे कार्यं यथा विज्ञायेत इति । तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन, तिष्ठतु कुमारी च्छत्रं हर देवदत्त इति

Samarthādhikāra is made in *padavidhi,* so that one may understand that, in *varṇa-vidhi, ānantarya* (immediate following) alone is the criterion to effect the *kārya. Viz. Tiṣṭhatu dadhyaśāna tvam śākēna, Tiṣṭhatu kumārī cchatram hara Dēvadatta.*

NOTE:—In the first example there is *sāmarthya* between *dadhi* and *aśāna* and *yaṇ-ādēśa* and in the second there is no *sāmarthya* between *kumārī* and *chatram* and there is *tuk* between them.

समर्थाधिकारस्य विधेयसामानाधिकरण्यान्निर्देशानर्थक्यम्

Ānarthakya of the mention of *samartha* on account of its being in apposition with the *vidhēya.*

समर्थाधिकारोऽयं विधेयेन समानाधिकरणः

The word *samartha* in the *sūtra* is in apposition with the *vidhēya.*

किं च विधेयम्? What is *vidhēya*?

समासः । यावद् ब्रूयात् समर्थः समासः इति, तावत् समर्थः पदविधिः इति ।

Samāsa. He may as well have said *Samartkaḥ samāsaḥ* in the same way as *Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ.*

NOTE:—It has already been mentioned that *vidhiḥ* in *padavidhiḥ* is *karmasādhana.*

न च राजपुरुषः इत्येतस्यामवस्थायां समर्थाधिकारेण किञ्चिदपि शक्यं प्रवर्तयितुं निवर्तयितुं वा । समर्थाधिकारस्य विधेयसामानाधिकरण्यान्निर्देशोऽनर्थकः ।

When the compound *rājapuruṣaḥ* is in existence, *samarthādhikāra* can neither do a thing afresh nor undo a thing. The mention of *samarthādhikāra* serves no purpose, since it is in apposition with the *vidhēya.*

सिद्धं तु समर्थानामिति वचनात्

The object is achieved by explaining it as *samarthānām padānām vidhiḥ.*

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सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

समर्थानां पदानां विधिर्भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be explained that *vidhi* operates in words which are *samarthas.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :-*Samartha-pada-sambandhitvāt pada-vidhir upacārāt samarthaśabdēna ucyatē.*

एवमपि द्व्येकयोर्न प्राप्नोति [1]

If so, *vidhi* will not operate on one or two *padas* which are *samartha* (on account of *samarthānām* being in the plural number).

एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा Or on account of its being read in *ēkaśēṣa.*

अथ वा एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् - समर्थस्य च समर्थयोश्च समर्थानां च समर्थानाम् इति

Or this is *ēkaśēṣanirdēśa* ; *samarthānām* stands for *samarthasya ca samarthayōś ca samarthānām ca.*

एवमपि षट्प्रभृतीनामेव प्राप्नोति - षट्प्रभृतिषु ह्येकशेषः परिसमाप्यते

Even then, the *vidhi* will operate when the number of *samartha-pada* is six or more, since the minimum number to satisfy the *ēkaśēṣa* is six.

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टा इति द्व्येकयोरपि भविष्यति ।

Since it is seen that the fruit of the meaning of the sentence is seen individually, it will operate with reference to one or two also.

एवमपि विभक्तीनां न प्राप्नोति - समर्थात्समर्थे, पदात्पदे इति ।

Even then it may not operate with reference to all *vibhaktis,* like *samarthād, samarthē, padāt* and *padē.*

NOTE :—This question arises only on the assumption that *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* can be explained in only one way as *samarthānām padānām vidhiḥ.*

1. Pandurang Jawaji Edition reads thus :—एवमपि द्व्येकयोर्न प्राप्नोति इत्युत्तरं भाष्ये शब्दसंस्कारार्थमेव बहुत्वविवक्षया कृतं बहुवचनं तच्च कार्यानन्वयितया अविवक्षितम् इति समाधानं त्रुटितम् । अन्यथैकशेषनिर्देशाद्वेति वाशब्दासङ्गतिः

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एवं तर्हि समर्थपदयोरयं विधिशब्देन सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः समासः - समर्थस्य विधिः समर्थविधिः, समर्थयोर्विधिः समर्थविधिः, समर्थानां विधिः समर्थविधिः, समर्थाद्विधिः समर्थविधिः, समर्थे विधिः समर्थविधिः । पदस्य विधिः पदविधिः, पदयोर्विधिः पदविधिः, पदानां विधिः पदविधिः, पदाद् विधिः पदविधिः, पदे विधिः पदविधिः । समर्थविधिश्च समर्थविधिश्च समर्थविधिश्च समर्थविधिश्च समर्थविधिश्च समर्थविधयः । पदविधिश्च पदविधिश्च पदविधिश्च पदविधिश्च पदविधिश्च पदविधयः । समर्थविधयश्च पदविधयश्च समर्थः पदविधिः । पूर्वः समास उत्तरपदलोपी, याद्दच्छिकी च विभक्तिः [1]

If so, the words *samartha* and *pada* compound with *vidhi* in different case relations thus:—*Samarthasya vidhiḥ, samarthayōr vidhiḥ, samarthānām vidhiḥ, samarthād vidhiḥ* and *samarthē vidhiḥ*; *padasya vidhiḥ, padayōr vidhiḥ, padānām vidhiḥ, padāt vidhiḥ* and *padē vidhiḥ*. Then *samarthavidhiś ca samarthavidhiś ca samarthavidhiś ca samarthavidhiś ca samarthavidhiś ca* form *samarthavidhayaḥ*. Similarly *padavidhiś ca padavidhiś ca padavidhiś ca padavidhiś ca padavidhiś ca* form *padavidhayaḥ*. Then *samarthavidhayaś ca padavidhayaś ca* form *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, where the second member of *samarthavidhi* is dropped and the singular number is used at will.

VIII

समानाधिकरणेषूपसङ्ख्यानं द्रव्यं पदार्थ इति चेत्

There is need to read *samānādhikaraṇēṣu padavidhiḥ* if *dravya* is taken to be *padārtha*.

समानाधिकरणेषूपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - वीरः पुरुषः वीरपुरुषः

It must be stated that there is *samāsa* between words having *sāmānādhikaraṇya*, so that *vīraḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* may compound themselves into *vīrapuruṣaḥ*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति?

How is it that it is not accomplished otherwise?

असमर्थत्वात्

On account of the absence of *sāmarthya* between them.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्?

Under what circumstances is there *asāmarthya*?

1. *Yādṛcchikī vibhaktiś ca* is another reading.

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यदि द्रव्यं पदार्थः, न भवति तदा सामर्थ्यं, भेदाभावात्

If the meaning is the object without reference to the *pravṛtti-nimitta* of each word, there is no *sāmarthya*, since there is no difference in their denotation.

अथ हि गुणः पदार्थः ?

Suppose on the other hand, that the connotation (*pravṛtti-nimittam*) is taken to be the meaning?

भवति तदा सामर्थ्यम्, अन्यो हि वीरत्वं गुणः, अन्यो हि पुरुषत्वम्

There is *sāmarthya* in that case; for the connotation *vīratva* is different from the connotation *puruṣatva*.

नान्यत्वमस्ति इतीयता सामर्थ्यं भवति । अन्यो हि देवदत्तो गोभ्यश्च अश्वेभ्यश्च । न चैतस्य एतावता सामर्थ्यं भवति ।

Difference in *pravṛttinimitta* alone is not the factor to decide the existence of *sāmarthya*. *Dēvadatta* is different from cows and horses. For that reason no *sāmarthya* exists between him and cows and horses.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:-*Upakāra-vivakṣāyām sāmarthyam* and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* explains it thus:—*Viśēṣya-viśēṣaṇa-bhāvēna anvayarūpōpakāravivakṣāyām*.

को वा विशेषो यद् गुणे पदार्थे सामर्थ्यं स्याद् द्रव्ये च न स्यात्?

What is the discerning factor to determine that there is *sāmarthya* if *guṇa* is *padārtha* and that there is no *sāmarthya* if *dravya* is *padārtha*?

एष विशेषः - एकं तयोरधिकरणम्, अन्यश्च वीरत्वं गुणः, अन्यः पुरुषत्वम्

This is the discerning factor:—They have the same *adhikaraṇa* and they, in their nature of being *vīratva* and *puruṣatva*, are different.

द्रव्यपदार्थिकस्यापि तर्हि गुणभेदात् सामर्थ्यं भविष्यति

Let there be *sāmarthya* even when *dravya* is *padārtha* on account of the difference in their connotation.

अशक्यो द्रव्यपदार्थिकेन द्रव्यस्य गुणकृत उपकारः प्रतिज्ञातुम्

It is impossible for connotation to be the discerning factor when the denotation of words is taken into consideration.

ननु चाभ्यन्तरोऽसौ भवति Oh! it is within it.

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यद्यप्यभ्यन्तरः, न तु गम्यते । न हि गुडः इत्युक्ते मधुरत्वं गम्यते, शृङ्गवेरम् इति वा कटुकत्वम् .

Though it is within, it is not expressed. At the mention of the word *guḍa*, *madhuratva* is not expressed; nor *kaṭukatva*, at the mention of the word *śṛṅgavēra*.

गुणपदार्थिकेनापि तर्हि अशक्यो गुणस्य द्रव्यकृत उपकारः प्रतिज्ञातुम् ।

If so, it is equally impossible for denotation to be the discerning factor when the connotation of words is taken into consideration.

अथ गुणपदार्थिकः प्रतिजानीते

Then it is stated that words whose connotation is taken into consideration form into a compound when there is *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.

द्रव्यपदार्थिकोऽपि कस्मान्न प्रतिजानीते?

Why should it not be stated that words whose denotation is taken into consideration form into a compound also when there is *sāmānādhikaraṇya*?

एवमनयोः सामर्थ्यं स्याद्वा न वा । क्व तावदिदं स्यात् समानाधिकरणेनेति?

Let there be *sāmarthya* between those two or not. Where will they have the *sāmānādhikaraṇya-sambandha*?

यत्र सर्वं समानम् - इन्द्रः, शक्रः, पुरुहूतः, पुरन्दरः ; कन्दुः कोष्ठः कुसूलः इति ।

Where all - both denotation and connotation - are the same. *Viz. Indraḥ, śakraḥ, puruhūtaḥ, purandaraḥ*; and *kanduḥ, kōṣṭhaḥ, kusūlaḥ* (granary).

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* explains that *samānādhikaraṇam* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound where *adikaraṇam* means *vācyaḥ*, so that it means *paryāya* (*synonym*).

NOTE :—2. Even though the words *indraḥ, śakraḥ, puruhūtaḥ* and *purandaraḥ* have different connotations, yet they are not taken into consideration and each is taken to connote only *indratva*.

नैवंजातीयकानां समासेन भवितव्यं, प्रत्ययेन वोत्पत्तव्यम्

There cannot be *samāsa* between synonyms of this type, nor will they, when used together, convey any sense.

किं कारणम्? Why?

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अर्थगत्यर्थः शब्दप्रयोगः । अर्थं सम्प्रत्याययिष्यामीति शब्दः प्रयुज्यते । तत्र एकेन उक्तत्वात् तस्यार्थस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम्

Words are used to convey meaning. Word is used so that one may convey the meaning which he has in his mind to another. Since it is expressed by one word, there is no need to use its synonym after it.

किं कारणम्? Why?

उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति

There is the dictum that there should be no repetition of the ideas which have been expressed.

न तर्हि इदानीमिदं भवति भृत्यभरणीय इति?

If so, is there no chance here for the compound *bhṛtyabharaṇīyaḥ*?

नैतौ समानार्थौ । एकोऽत्र शक्यार्थे कृत्यः, अपरोऽर्हे । शक्यो भर्तुं भृत्यः; अर्हति भृतिं भरणीयः; भृत्यो भरणीयो भृत्यभरणीयः

These two (the words *bhṛtya* and *bharaṇīya*) are not synonyms. Of them one has *kṛtyapratyaya* in the sense of *śakya* and the other in the sense of *arha*. *Bhṛtyaḥ* means *bhartum śakyaḥ* and *bharaṇīyaḥ* means *bhṛtim arhati*. *Bhṛtyaḥ* and *bharaṇīyaḥ* form into the compound *bhṛtya-bharaṇīyaḥ*.

यदि तर्हि यत्र किञ्चित् समानं कश्चिच्च विशेषः तत्र भवितव्यम् इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति - दर्शनीया या माता दर्शनीयामाता इति । अत्रापि किञ्चित् समानं कश्चिच्च विशेषः ।

If it is then said that there is *samāsa* between two words which have similarity in some respect and dissimilarity in other respects, there is chance for *karmadhāraya-samāsa* here also - *Darśanīyā yā mātā* into *darśanīyā-mātā*. Here too there is some similarity and some dissimilarity.

किं पुनस्तत्? What is it then?

सद्भावान्यभावौ *Sattā* and *anyatva*.

न क्वचित् सद्भावान्यभावौ न स्तः, उच्यते चेदं समानाधिकरणेनेति, तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते - यत्र साधीयः सामानाधिकरण्यम्

There is no place where *sadbhāva* and *anyabhāva* are absent. Still mention is made of *samānādhikaraṇēna*. Hence it should

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be taken to refer to the *prakṛṣṭa* so that it means where there is superior *sāmānādhikaraṇya*.

क्व च साधीयः सामानाधिकरण्यम्?
Where is superior *sāmānādhikaraṇya*?

यत्र सर्वं समानं सद्भावान्यभावौ द्रव्यं च
Where there is similarity in everything - *sadbhāva* and *anyabhāva* and denotation.

अथ वा समानाधिकरणेनेति तत्समानमाश्रीयते यत्समानं भवति न च भवति । न चैतत्समानं क्वचिदपि न भवति ।
Or *samāna* in the word *samānādhikaraṇēna* refers to that which is found in some places and which is not found in others; but there is no place where this *samāna* (i.e.) *sattā* is not found.

अथवा यावद् ब्रूयात् समानद्रव्येण इति तावत् समानाधिकरणेन इति । द्रव्यं हि लोके अधिकरणम् इत्युपचर्यते; तद्यथा - एकस्मिन्द्रव्ये व्युदितम्, एकस्मिन्नधिकरणे व्युदितम्; तथा व्याकरणे विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि - अद्रव्यवाचीति गम्यते
Or *samānādhikaraṇēna* is taken in the sense of *samānadravyēṇa*. The word *adhikaraṇa* is used in the world in the sense of *dravya* through *upacāra*, as in *Ēkasmin adhikaraṇē vyuditam* (there is quarrel with respect to a *dravya*) in place of *Ēkasmin dravyē vyuditam.* Similarly the word *anadhikaraṇavāci* in the *sūtra Vipratiṣiddham cānadhikaraṇavāci* is used in the sense of *adravyavāci*.

एवमपि इदमवश्यं कर्तव्यं, समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद्भवति इति
Still this is certainly to be accepted that *samānādhikaraṇam* is only through *asamarthatva*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

सर्पिः कालकं, यजुः पीतकम् इत्येवमर्थम्
So that *ṣatva* may be prevented in *sarpiḥ kālakam* and *yajuḥ pītakam*.

यदि समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद्भवति इत्युच्यते सर्पिष्पीयते यजुष्क्रियते इत्यत्र षत्वं न प्राप्नोति
If *samānādhikaraṇa* is said to be *asamarthavat*, there will be no *ṣatva* in *sarpiṣpīyatē* and *yajuṣkriyatē*.

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अधात्वभिहितमित्येवं तत्

Only when *samānādhikaraṇa* refers to what is not said by a *pratyaya* which follows a *dhātu.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* writes :–*Dhātu-sahacaritaḥ pratyayō dhātu-śabdēna uktaḥ. Tēna abhihitam karmādi yadi bhavati tadā sāmarthyam ēva ityarthaḥ.*

एवं च कृत्वा समानाधिकरणेषु उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - वीरः पुरुषः वीरपुरुष इति ।

Under these circumstances it is necessary to read *Samānādhikaraṇēṣu upasaṅkhyānam*, so that *vīraḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* may combine into *vīrapuruṣaḥ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

असमर्थत्वात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात्

No, it need not be read on account of the authority of usage.

न वा कर्तव्यम् It need not be read.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

वचनप्रामाण्यात् - वचनप्रामाण्यादत्र समासो भविष्यति

On account of the authority of usage (by the *Sūtrakāra*). There will *samāsa* here on the authority of usage.

किं वचनप्रामाण्यम् ?

What is the usage which is to be taken as authority ?

समानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च इति

The expression *Samāna-madhya-madhyama-vīrāś ca* (2, 1, 58).

IX

लुप्ताख्यातेषु च Need to read *Luptākhyātēṣu ca upasaṅkhyānam.*

लुप्ताख्यातेषु चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - निष्कौशाम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः

It must be added that *samāsa* takes place where verbs have been elided, as in *Niṣ-kāuśāmbiḥ* and *nir-vārāṇasiḥ.*

लुप्ताख्यातेषु च

There is no need for *upasaṅkhyāna* with reference to *luptākhyātas* also.

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NOTE:—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* has taken the same *vākya luptākhyātēṣu ca* twice and interprets the former towards the *vidhāna* of *upasaṅkhyāna* and the latter towards its *niṣēdha*.

किम्? Why?

वचनप्रामाण्यादित्येव Evidently on the authority of *vacana*.

किं वचनप्रामाण्यम्?

What is the *vacana* which stands as authority?

कुगतिप्रादयः इति The *sūtra Ku-gati prādayaḥ* (2, 2, 18).

अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

There is another *prayōjana* accruing from this *vacana*.

किम्? What?

सुराजः अतिराजा इति *Surājā* and *atirājā* may be secured.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśubhaṭṭa* here reads:—*Etēna prādaya iti bahuvacanam jñāpakam ityapāstam*.

न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रवचनप्रामाण्याद् इति

We do not say that it is so on the authority of the (*sūtra* of *Ācārya Pāṇini*) which is capable of a *vārttika* under it.

किं तर्हि? On what then?

वार्त्तिककारवचनप्रामाण्याद् इति । सिद्धं तु क्वाङ्स्वतिदुर्गतिवचनात् - प्रादयः क्तार्थे इति

On the *prāmāṇya* of *Vārttikakāra's vacana* - *Siddham tu kvāṅsvatidurgativacanāt, Prādyaḥ ktārthē* (under 2, 2, 18).

तदर्थगतेर्वा Or on account of suggesting its meaning.

तदर्थगतेर्वा पुनः सिद्धमेतत्

Or this is accomplished by *tadarthagati*.

किमिदं तदर्थगतेरिति? What is this:—*tadarthagatēḥ*?

तस्य अर्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, तदर्थगतेः इति; यस्य अर्थस्य कौशाम्ब्या सामर्थ्यं स निसा उच्यते ।

Tasya and *arthaḥ* compound into *tadarthaḥ*; *tadarthasya* and *gatiḥ* compound into *tadarthagatiḥ*; *tadarthagatēḥ* is the fifth case of *tadarthagatiḥ*; the *artha* which has *sāmarthya* with *kāuśāmbī* is suggested by *nis*.

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अथ वा सोऽर्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, तदर्थगतेः इति ; योऽर्थः कौशाम्ब्या समर्थः स निसा उच्यते ।

Or *saḥ* and *arthaḥ* compound into *tadarthaḥ*; *tadarthasya* and *gatiḥ* compound into *tadarthagatiḥ* and *tadarthagatēḥ* is the fifth case of *tadarthagatiḥ*; the meaning which is *samartha* with *kāuśāmbī* is suggested by *nis*.

X

अथ यत्र बहूनां समासप्रसङ्गः किं तत्र द्वयोर्द्वयोः समासो भवति आहोस्विद् अविशेषेण ?

Where there is a chance for more than two words to become a *samāsa*, do they form the *samāsa* two by two or all at a time?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here ?

समासो द्वयोर्द्वयोश्चेद् द्वन्द्वेऽनेकग्रहणम्

If *samāsa* is between two at a time, the word *anēka* is to be read in the *sūtra* dealing with *dvandva*.

समासो द्वयोर्द्वयोश्चेद् द्वन्द्वेऽनेकग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - चार्थे द्वन्द्वोऽनेकम् इति वक्तव्यम् । इहापि यथा स्यात् - प्लक्षन्यग्रोधखदिरपलाशाः इति ।

If *samāsa* is between two at a time, the word *anēka* is to be read thus:—*Cārthē dvandvōsnēkam*, so that the *samāsa* may take place in *Plakṣa-nyagrōdha-khadira-palāśāḥ*.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that *dvandva* above is *upalakṣaṇa* to *bahuvrīhi* also.

नैष दोषः । अत्रापि द्वयोर्द्वयोः समासो भविष्यति

This difficulty does not arise. Even here *samāsa* takes place between two at a time.

द्वयोर्द्वयोः समास इति चेन्न बहुषु द्वित्वाभावात्

It is not possible for the *samāsa* taking place two at a time since *dvitva* is absent when many are taken as a whole.

द्वयोर्द्वयोः समास इति चेत् तन्न

If it is said that, (even there) *samāsa* takes place between two at a time, it is not possible.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

बहुषु द्वित्वाभावात् - न बहुषु द्वित्वमस्ति

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On account of the absence of *dvitva* in many. *Dvitva* is not comprehended when more than two are taken as a whole.

नावश्यमेवं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः - प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च खदिरश्च पलाशश्च इति
It is not absolutely necessary to form the *vigraha* thus:—*Plakṣaḥ ca nyagrōdhaḥ ca khadiraḥ ca palāśaḥ ca.*

किं तर्हि ? How then ?

एवं विग्रहः करिष्यते - प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ, खदिरश्च पलाशश्च खदिरपलाशौ, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ च खदिरपलाशौ च प्लक्षन्यग्रोधखदिरपलाशाः इति ।
The *vigraha* is done thus:—*Plakṣaḥ* and *nyagrōdhaḥ* compound into *plakṣa-nyagrōdhāu*, *khadiraḥ* and *palāśaḥ* into *khadira-palāśāu* and then *plakṣa-nyagrōdhāu* and *khadirapalāśāu* into *plakṣanyagrōdhakhadirapalāśāḥ*.

होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारस्तर्हि न सिध्यन्ति ; होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातारः इति प्राप्नोति ।
The form *hōtṛ-pōtṛ-nēṣṭōdgātāraḥ* cannot, then, be secured ; the form *hōtā-pōtā-nēṣṭōdgātāraḥ* will take its place.

NOTE:—*Sidhyati* may be a better reading for *sidhyanti.*

न चैतदेवं भवितव्यम् ? Is not that form admissible ?

भवितव्यं च यदेवं विग्रहः क्रियते - होता च पोता च होतापोतारौ, नेष्टा च उद्गाता च नेष्टोद्गातारौ, होतापोतारौ च नेष्टोद्गातारौ च होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातार इति । होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारस्तु न सिध्यन्ति
It is admissible if the *vigraha* is done thus:—*Hōtā ca pōtā ca hōtāpōtārāu, nēṣṭā ca udgātā ca nēṣṭōdgātārāu, hōtāpōtārāu ca nēṣṭōdgātārāu ca hōtāpōtānēṣṭōdgātāraḥ.* The form *hōtṛ-pōtṛ-nēṣṭōdgātāraḥ* cannot be secured.

समासान्तप्रतिषेधश्च Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *samāsāntavidhi.*

समासान्तस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - वाक्त्वक्स्रुग्दृषदम् इति, वाक्त्वच - स्रुग्दृषदम् इति प्राप्नोति
There is the need to prohibit the operation of *samāsāntavidhi.* Otherwise the form *vāk-tvak-srug-dṛṣadam* cannot be secured and the form *vāk-tvaca-srug-dṛṣadam* will take its place.

नैष दोषः । अत्रापि परेण सह समासो भविष्यति - स्रुक् च दृषच्च स्रुक्दृषदं, त्वक् च स्रुग्दृषदं च त्वक्स्रुग्दृषदं, वाक् च त्वक्स्रुग्दृषदं च वाक्त्वक्स्रुग्दृषदम् इति ।

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This difficulty cannot arise if *samāsa* is started from the end thus:—*Sruk ca dṛṣad ca srukdṛṣadam, tvak ca srug-dṛṣadaṃ ca tvak-srug-dṛṣadam, vāk ca tvak-srug-dṛṣadam ca vāk-tvak-srug-dṛṣadam.*

होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातार एव तर्हि न सिध्यति

If so, the form *hōtṛ-pōtṛ-nēṣṭōdgātāraḥ* cannot be secured.

इह च सुसूक्ष्मजटकेशेन सुनताजिनवाससा ।
समन्तशितिरन्ध्रेण द्वयोर्वृत्तौ न सिध्यति ।

Besides if *samāsa* is between two at a time, the *bahuvrīhis susūkṣmajaṭakēśēna, sunatājinavāsasā* and *samantaśitirandhrēṇa* which have more than two component parts cannot be secured.

अस्तु तर्हि अविशेषेण If so, let it be with any number.

अविशेषेण बहुव्रीहावनेकपदप्रसङ्गः

If *bahuvrīhi* takes place with any number, there is chance for the difficulties to arise due to many words becoming a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

यद्यविशेषेण बहुव्रीहावनेकपदप्रसङ्गः

If it takes place with any number, there is chance for the difficulties to arise due to many words becoming a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there?

तत्र स्वरसमासान्तपुंवद्भावेषु दोषः

Harm lies in that case in *svara, samāsānta* and *puṁvadbhāva.*

तत्र स्वरसमासान्तपुंवद्भावेषु दोषो भवति

In that case there will be difficulty with reference to *svara, samāsānta* and *puṁvadbhāva.*

स्वर - पूर्वशालाप्रियः, अपरशालाप्रियः

There will be difficulty in the *svara* of the words *pūrva-śālā-priyaḥ* and *apara-śālā-priyaḥ.*

NOTE:—If all the three words *pūrva, śālā* and *priya* compound into *bahuvrīhi* at the same time, the *udātta* will have to be on the initial syllable of *pūrva* and if, on the other hand, *pūrva* and *śālā* first compound together and then *pūrvaśālā* compounds together with *priya*, the second syllable of *śālā*

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will be *udātta*. The same will be the case in the word *aparā-śālā-priyaḥ*.

समासान्त - पञ्चगवप्रियः, पञ्चनावप्रियः

There will be difficulty in the *samāsānta* of the words *pañca-gava-priyaḥ* and *pañca-nāva-priyaḥ*.

NOTE:—If all the three words *pañca*, *gō* and *priyaḥ* form into the compound at the same time, they will form into *pañca-gō-priyaḥ* and not *pañca-gava-priyaḥ*. Similarly there will be *pañca-nāu-priyaḥ* and not *pañca-nāva-priyaḥ*.

पुंवद्भाव - खादरेतरशम्यम्

There will be difficulty in the *pumvadbhāva* in *khādarētara-śamyam*.

NOTE:—*Khādirī* will take *pumvadbhāva* and change to *khādira* only if it first compounds with *itarā*.

न वावयवतत्पुरुषत्वात्

This difficulty does not arise, since its *avayava* is *tatpuruṣa*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अवयवतत्पुरुषत्वात् - अवयवोऽत्र तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः, तदाश्रयौ समासान्तपुंवद्भावौ भविष्यतः

On account of the *avayava* being *tatpuruṣa*. The *avayava* here is *tatpuruṣa* and *samāsānta* and *pumvadbhāva* which depend upon it set in.

स्वरः कथम्? How to explain the *svara*?

तस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विप्रतिषेधात्

It takes *antōdāttatva* through *vipratiṣēdha*.

अन्तोदात्तत्वं क्रियतां पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर इति, अन्तोदात्तत्वं भवति विप्रतिषेधेन।

Doubt arises whether there should be *antōdāttatva* or *pūrva-padaprakṛtisvaratva* and *antōdāttatva* has precedence through *vipratiṣēdha*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *vipratiṣēdha* means *virōdha*.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वं चान्तोदात्तत्वं, परं पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् ।

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Vipratiṣēdha does not fit in. The *vidhi* is *Vipratiṣēdhē param*; *antōdāttatva* is *pūrva* and *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* is *para*.

न परविप्रतिषेधं ब्रूमः

We do not refer to *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*.

किं तर्हि ? To what then?

अन्तरङ्गविप्रतिषेधम् To *antaraṅga-vipratiṣēdha*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *avayavāśrita* is *antaraṅga*.

निमित्तिस्वरबलीयस्त्वाद्वा

Or on account of the greater strength of the *svara* of *nimittin*.

अथ वा निमित्तस्वरान्निमित्तिस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम्

Or it must be said that *nimittisvara* is stronger than *nimitta-svara*.

किं पुनर्निमित्तं, को वा निमित्ती ?

Which is *nimitta* and which is *nimittin*?

बहुव्रीहिर्निमित्तम्, तत्पुरुषो निमित्ती

Bahuvrīhi is *nimitta* and *tatpuruṣa* is *nimittin*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् - निमित्तस्वरान्निमित्तिस्वरो बलीयान् इति

It, then, must be stated that *nimitti-svara* is stronger than *nimitta-svara*.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be stated.

एकशितिपात्स्वरवचनं तु ज्ञापकं निमित्तिस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य

Mention of *svara* for the word *ēka-śiti-pāt* suggests that *nimitti-svara* is stronger.

यदयं युक्तारोह्यादिषु एकशितिपाच्छब्दं पठति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो निमित्त-स्वरान्निमित्तिस्वरो बलीयान् इति ।

Since *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) reads the word *ēka-śiti-pāt* in *Yuktārōhyādigaṇa*, he suggests that *nimitti-svara* is stronger than *nimitta-svara*.

NOTE:—1. The first syllable in the word *ēka-śiti-pāt* is *udātta* on the authority of *Yuktārōhyādayaś ca* (6, 2, 81).

NOTE:—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads:–*Tripadē bahuvrīhāu kṛtē dvayōś ca tatpuruṣē, Bahuvrīhāu prakṛtyā iti ādyudāttatvē, jñāpanārthaḥ pāṭhaḥ sampadyatē*.

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कः पुनरर्हति युक्तारोह्यादिषु एकशितिपाच्छब्दं पठितुम्?
Who deserves to read the word *ēkaśitipāt* in *yuktārōhyādigaṇa*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Sarvathā svarasya siddhatvāt akartavya ēva pāṭhō na jñāpaka ityarthaḥ.*

एवं किल नाम पठ्यते, एकः शितिः एकशितिः, एकशितिः पादो यस्य इति
It is read in this sense:—*Ekaḥ śitiḥ=ēkaśitiḥ; ēkaśitiḥ pādaḥ yasya.* (i.e.) it is *bahuvrīhi* with *dvigu* at the beginning.

तच्च न; एवं विग्रहः करिष्यते, एकः शितिः एषु त इमे एकशितयः, एकशितयः पादा यस्येति एकशितिपाद् इति ।
No, it is not; the *vigraha* will be done this way:—*Ekaḥ śitiḥ ēṣu tē ēkaśitayaḥ; ēkaśitayaḥ pādāḥ yasya ēkaśitipāt*

अथाप्येवं विग्रहः क्रियते - एकः शितिः एकशितिः, एकशितिः पादः यस्य इति, एवमपि नार्थः पाठेन । इगन्ते द्विगौ इत्येष स्वरोऽत्र बाधको भविष्यति
Even when the *vigraha* is done this way—*ēkaḥ śitiḥ=ēkaśitiḥ, ēkaśitiḥ pādaḥ yasya,* no purpose is served by reading it in the *gaṇa*, as *Igantakāla....dvigāu* (6, 2, 29) will serve its *bādhaka*.

अस्य तर्हि बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेशेन सुनताजिनवाससा । समन्तशितिरन्ध्रेण ॥ इति
If so, the *avayava* of the *bahuvrīhi—susūkṣmajaṭakēśēna, sunatājinavāsasā* and *samantaśitirandhrēṇa* will get *tatpuruṣa-saṁjñā*.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there?

तस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विप्रतिषेधात् इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं स्याद् विप्रतिषेधेन ।
It will have its final syllable *udātta* through *vipratiṣēdha* on the strength of the statement *Tasyāntōdāttatvam vipratiṣēdhēna*.

नैष दोषः । नेदं बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य तत्पुरुषस्य लक्षणमारभ्यते ।
This difficulty will not arise. This does not have any reference to the *tatpuruṣa* which is an *avayava* of *bahuvrīhi*.

किं तर्हि? With reference to what then?

यस्य बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य तत्पुरुषस्य तल्लक्षणमस्ति तस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं भविष्यति विप्रतिषेधेन
Antōdāttatva happens only to that which, being an *avayava* of *bahuvrīhi*, has that *lakṣaṇa*.

ननु चास्याप्यस्ति Oh, it can be had to this also.

किम्? To what?

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विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् इति
To that secured by *Viśēṣaṇam viśēṣyēṇa bahulam* (2, 1, 57).

बहुलवचनान्न भविष्यति It will not be as *bahulam* is read.

अस्य तर्हि बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति - अधिकषष्टिवर्षः इति
If so, *tatpuruṣa* may take hold of the *avayava* of the *bahuvrīhi*–*adhika-ṣaṣṭi-varṣaḥ*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there?

तस्यान्तोदात्तत्वं विप्रतिषेधात् इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं स्याद् विप्रतिषेधेन ।
It may get *antōdāttatva* through *vipratiṣēdha* on the strength of the statement *Tasya antōdāttatvam vipratiṣēdhāt*.

नैष दोषः । इगन्ते द्विगौ इत्येष स्वरो बाधको भविष्यति
This difficulty does not arise. It will be set at naught by the *sūtra Iganta... dvigāu* (6, 2, 29).

यस्तर्हि नेगन्तः - अधिकशतवर्षः इति ?
What about that which does not have *iganta* like the word *adhika-śata-varṣaḥ*?

NOTE:—Here *śata* is not *iganta*.

इह चापि अधिकषष्टिवर्ष इति समासान्तः प्राप्नोति 'डचः प्रकरणे सङ्ख्यायाः तत्पुरुषस्योपसङ्ख्यानं निस्त्रिंशाद्यर्थम्' इति ।
Even here with reference to the word *adhika-ṣaṣṭi-varṣaḥ* there is chance for *samāsānta* on the stregnth of the *Vārttika Ḍacaḥ prakaraṇē saṅkhyāyāḥ tatpuruṣasya upasaṅkhyānam nistriṁśād-yartham* (under 5, 4, 73).

नैष दोषः । अव्ययादेरित्येवं तत्
This difficulty does not arise. It is with reference to those compounds whose former member is an *avyaya*.

किं पुनः कारणमव्ययादेरित्येवं तत् ?
Why should it refer to *avyayādi* alone?

इह मा भूत् - गोत्रिंशत्, गोचत्वारिंशद् इति
It should not take place in *Gōtriṁśat* and *gōcatvāriṁśat*.

बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञा तर्हि प्राप्नोति सङ्ख्ययाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसङ्ख्याः सङ्ख्येये इति
In that case it will take *bahuvrīhisaṁjñā* on the strength of the *sūtra Saṅkhyayāvyayāsannādūrādhikasaṅkhyayāḥ saṅkhyēyē* (2, 2, 25).

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न सङ्ख्यां सङ्ख्येये वर्तयिष्यामः
We will not take *saṅkhyā* to denote *saṅkhyēya*.

कथम्? How?

एवं विग्रहः करिष्यते अधिका षष्टिः वर्षाणाम् अस्य इति
The *vigraha* will be done thus:—*Adhikā-ṣaṣṭiḥ varṣāṇām asya.*

यथा तर्हि स योगः प्रत्याख्यायते, तथा पूर्वेण प्राप्नोति
If that *sūtra* is considered unnecessary, it will get it (*bahuvrīhi-saṁjñā*) by the previous *sūtra Anēkam anyapadārthē.*

कथं स योगः प्रत्याख्यायते? How is that *sūtra* unnecessary?

अशिष्यः सङ्ख्योत्तरपदः सङ्ख्येयार्थाभिधायित्वात् इति
Saṅkhyōttarapada need not be read since it refers to *saṅkhyēya.*

प्रत्याख्याते तस्मिन् योगे सङ्ख्यां सङ्ख्येये वर्तयिष्यामः । तत्रैवं विग्रहः करिष्यते अधिका षष्टिर्वर्षाण्यस्य इति ।
If that *sūtra* is taken away, we take *saṅkhyā* refer to *saṅkhyēya*. Then the *vigraha* is done this way—*Adhikā ṣaṣṭiḥ varṣāṇi asya.*

सर्वथा वयम् अधिकषष्टवर्षात् न मुच्यामहे
Under any circumstances we cannot escape from the formation of *adhikaṣaṣṭavarṣaḥ*.

कथम्? How?

यावता स योगः प्रत्याख्यायते, अयं विग्रहोऽस्ति - अधिका षष्टिर्वर्षाणामस्य इति
When that *sūtra* is removed, the *vigraha* is done this way—*Adhikā ṣaṣṭiḥ varṣāṇi asya.*

यत्तु तदुक्तम् अधिकषष्टिवर्षो न सिध्यति इति, स सिद्धो भवति ।
As regards the statement that the form *adhika-ṣaṣṭi-varṣaḥ* cannot be secured, it is secured.

कथम्? How?

यावता स योगः प्रत्याख्यायते, अयं च विग्रहोऽस्ति - अधिका षष्टिर्वर्षाण्यस्य इति
No sooner is the *sūtra* removed, than this *vigraha* is done:—*Adhikā ṣaṣṭiḥ varṣāṇi asya.*

अधिकशतवर्षस्तु न सिध्यति
It is not possible to secure the form *adhika-śata-varṣaḥ*.

कर्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः Effort should be taken to secure it.

NINETEENTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, first *āhnika* ends)

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Twentieth Āhnika

(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, second *āhnika*)

सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे (2, 1, 2)

There are *five* topics here:—(1) Need for the word *sup* in the *sūtra*? (2) Need to read *Ṣaṣṭhyāmantritakārakam* or *tannimittam* in the *sūtra*. (3) Need to read that *para* gets *pūrvāṅgavadbhāva* in *Vēdas*. (4) Need to exempt *avyaya*, but not *avyayībhāva* from *parāṅgavadbhāva*. (5) *Svarē* in the *sūtra* is not necessary.

1

सुबिति किमर्थम्? What for is the word *sup* (in the *sūtra*)?

करोष्यटन्

So that *karōṣi* (which is *tiṅanta*) may not take *parāṅgavadbhāva*.

नैतदस्ति, असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति

It is not so; it does not take place on account of *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद्भवतीति

The dictum 'That which is *samānādhikaraṇa* with another is considered to have *asāmarthya* with it'.

इदं तर्हि पीड्ये पीड्यमान इति

So that *pīḍyē* then may not be *parāṅgavat* with *pīḍyamāna*.

NOTE:—If there is no *parāṅgavadbhāva*, *ē* of *pīḍyē* will be *udātta* and if it has it, *ī* will have it.

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् - करोष्यटन्

Karōṣyaṭan also may be an *udāharaṇa*.

ननु चोक्तं असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति

Oh, it was said that there cannot be *parāṅgavadbhāva* here on account of *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद्भवति इति

The dictum *Samānādhikaraṇam asamarthavad bhavati*.

नैष दोषः । अधात्वभिहितम् इत्येवं तत्

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This difficulty does not arise. It refers to that which is not *dhātvabhihita*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* writes :—*Yatra kriyā pravṛttinimittam sphuṭā ca dhātupratyayēna kartrādipratipattiḥ tad dhātvabhihitam.*

II

आमन्त्रितस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे षष्ठ्यामन्त्रितकारकवचनम्

Need to read that *parāṅgavadbhāva* due to *āmantrita* is to the word in the sixth case and to the *kāraka* to the *kriyā* denoted by the root in the *āmantrita*.

आमन्त्रितस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे षष्ठ्यन्तमामन्त्रितकारकं च पराङ्गवद् भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

Parāṅgavadbhāva due to *āmantrita* is to be read to the word in the sixth case and to the *kāraka* of the *āmantrita.*

षष्ठ्यन्तं तावत् - मद्राणां राजन्, मगधानां राजन्

Firstly the examples for *ṣaṣṭhyanta* which take *parāṅgavadbhāva* are *Madrāṇām rājan* and *Magadhānām rājan.*

आमन्त्रितकारकम् - कुण्डेनाटन्

The example for the *āmantritakāraka* taking *parāṅgavadbhāva* is *kuṇḍēnāṭan.*

NOTE :—Whether there is *parāṅgavadbhāva* or not, the initial syllable of *kuṇḍa* takes *udātta.*

नास्त्यत्र विशेषः सति च पराङ्गवद्भावे, असति वा

There is no difference here whether there is *parāṅgavadbhāva* or not.

इदं तर्हि - परशुना वृश्चन्

If so, *paraśunā vṛścan* serves as the example.

NOTE :—The word *paraśu* which is *antōdātta* takes *ādyudātta* through *parāṅgavadbhāva.*

तन्निमित्तग्रहणं वा Or there is need to read *tannimittam.*

अथ वा तन्निमित्तग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । आमन्त्रितनिमित्तं पराङ्गवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - मद्राणां राजन्

Or the word *tannimitta* is to be read (i.e.) it must be said that which is *nimitta* to *āmantrita* takes *parāṅgavadbhāva. Viz. Madrāṇām rājan.*

तच्चावश्यमन्यतरद् वक्तव्यम्

Either of the two must, necessarily, be read.

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अवचने हि सुबन्तमात्रप्रसङ्गः
For if either of the two is not read, there is chance for it with reference to all *subantas*.

अनुच्यमाने त्वेतस्मिन् सुबन्तमात्रस्य पराङ्गवद्भावः प्रसज्येत । अस्यापि प्रसज्येत - क्षत्रेणाग्ने स्वायुः संरभस्व, मित्रेणाग्ने मित्रधेये यतस्व (Y. V. 4, 1, 7, 25).

If it is not read, *parāṅgavadbhāva* may chance to set in to all *subantas*. It will chance to appear here also (to *kṣatrēṇa* and *mitrēṇa*) in *kṣatrēṇāgnē svāyuḥ saṁrabhasva* and *Mitrēṇāgnē mitradhēyē yatasva*.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads:—*Bhāṣyasya tu samarthaparibhāṣānupasthitāu tad-ananuvṛttāu ca tātparyam.*

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः? Which is better here?

तन्निमित्तग्रहणमेव ज्यायः । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति - गोषु स्वामिन्, पशुषु स्वामिन् । एताद्धि नैव षष्ठ्यन्तं नाप्यामन्त्रितकारकम् ।

Tannimittagrahaṇam is evidently better. It will operate here too—*Gōṣu svāmin* and *Paśuṣu svāmin*. This *gōṣu* or *paśuṣu* is neither *ṣaṣṭhyanta* nor *āmantritakāraka*

सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसङ्ख्यानम् अनन्तरत्वात् स्वरेऽवधारणाच्च
Need to add *samānādhikaraṇas* with reference to the *parāṅgavadbhāva* of *subanta* on account of their not immediately preceding and *parāṅgavadbhāva* having reference only to *svara* and not to *ānantarya*.

सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीव्यन्, तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन्

There is need to add *samānādhikaraṇas* with reference to the *parāṅgavadbhāva* of *subanta*, so that *tīkṣṇayā* and *tīkṣṇēna* in the expressions *Tīkṣṇayā sūcyā sīvyan* and *Tīkṣṇēna paraśunā vṛścan* may get *parāṅgavadbhāva*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why is it not accomplished?

अनन्तरत्वात् On account of its not immediately preceding.

ननु च परस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे कृते पूर्वस्यापि भविष्यति

Oh! if the word which is *para* gets *parāṅgavadbhāva*, that which precedes it also gets it.

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स्वरे अवधारणाच्च - स्वरे अवधारणाच्च न सिध्यति । स्वरे अवधारणं क्रियते, नांनन्तर्ये

On account of its having reference only to *svara*. It is not accomplished since it has reference only to *svara*. It is mentioned that it refers only to *svara* and not to *ānantarya*.

III

परमपि च्छन्दसि *Para*, too, to take *pūrvāṅgavadbhāva* in *Vēdas*.

परमपि च्छन्दसि पूर्वस्याङ्गवद् भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - आ ते पितर्मरुतां सुम्नमेतु (R. V. 2, 33, 1), प्रति त्वा दुहितर्दिवः (R. V. 7, 81, 3), वृणीष्व दुहितर्दिवः (R. V. 10, 127, 8).

Para, too, in *Vēdas* should be stated to secure *pūrvāṅgavadbhāva* as the words *marutām*, *divaḥ* and *divaḥ* in the expressions—*Ā tē pitar marutām sumnam ētu*, *Prati tvā duhitar divaḥ*, *Vṛṇīṣva duhitar divaḥ*.

Note:—Injunction of *pūrvāṅgavadbhāva* in *Vēdas* makes us infer that *parāṅgavadbhāva* existed in the *laukika* language and hence the latter ought to have been pronounced with pitch accent in Vedic times.

IV

अव्ययप्रतिषेधश्च

Need to prohibit *avyaya* from taking *parāṅgavadbhāva*.

अव्ययानां च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - उच्चैरधीयान, नीचैरधीयान

There is need to mention the *pratiṣēdha* of *avyayas*, from taking *parāṅgavadbhāva* as in *Uccāir adhīyāna* and *Nīcāir adhīyāna*.

अनव्ययीभावस्य But not to *avyayībhāva*.

अव्ययीभावस्य नेति वक्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत् उपाग्न्यधीयान, प्रत्यग्न्यधीयान

It must be said that the *pratiṣēdha* does not apply to *avyayībhāva*, so that it may not operate here - *Upāgnyadhīyāna* and *Pratyagnyadhīyāna*.

V

अथ किमर्थं स्वरेऽवधारणं क्रियते?

What is the need to mention that it is only with reference to *svara*?

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स्वरेऽवधारणं सुबलोपार्थम्

Avadhāraṇa in *svara* is to prohibit the *lōpa* of *sup*.

स्वरेऽवधारणं क्रियते सुपो लोपो मा भूदिति - परशुना वृश्चन्

Avadhāraṇa is made in *svara*, so that *sup* may not be elided, in words like *paraśunā* in *Paraśunā vṛścan*.

न वा सुबन्तैकान्तत्वात्

It is not necessary on account of its being restricted to *subanta*.

न वा कर्तव्यम् The word *svarē* need not be read.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सुबन्तैकान्तत्वात् - सुबन्तैकान्तः पराङ्गवद्भावो भवति

On account of its being restricted to *subanta*. *Parāṅgavadbhāva* is restricted to *subanta*.

प्रातिपदिकैकान्तस्तु सुब्लोपे

It will be restricted to *prātipadika* at the elision of *sup*.

प्रातिपदिकैकान्तस्तु भवति सुब्लोपे कृते

It will be restricted to *prātipadika* if *sup* is elided.

प्रत्ययलक्षणेन सुबन्तैकान्तता स्यात् । तस्मात् स्वरेऽवधारणं न कर्तव्यं सुबलोपार्थम्, प्रातिपदिकस्थायाः सुपो लुगुच्यते । तस्मात् स्वरग्रहणेन नार्थः ॥

It will be restricted to *subanta* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*. Hence *avadhāraṇa* in *svara* need not be done to prevent the elision of *sup*. *Luk* is enjoined to *sup* in *prātipadika*. Hence no purpose is served by reading *svarē* in the *sūtra*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं · षत्वणत्वे मा भूतामिति - कूपे सिञ्चन्, चर्म नमन् इति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that *ṣatva* and *ṇatva* do not take place in *kūpē siñcan* and *carma naman*.

NOTE:—If the word *svarē* is not read, there will be *parāṅgavadbhāva* in the above two expressions, so that each will considered as one *pada*, resulting in the *ṣatva* of *sakāra* and *ṇatva* of *nakāra*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् - इह तावत् कूपे सिञ्चन् इति, स्वाश्रयं पदादित्वं भविष्यति

This, too, is not the *prayōjana*. Firstly in *kūpē siñcan*, the *padāditva* of *sakāra* which depends upon itself stands (i.e.) it is not affected by *parāṅgavadbhāvātidēśa*.

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NOTE :—Even though the same answer holds good with reference to *ṇatva*, another reason is given below.

चर्म नमन् इति पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः इत्येतस्मान्नियमान्न भविष्यति

Ṇatva does not take place by the *niyama-sūtra Pūrvapadāt saṁjñāyām agaḥ* (8, 4, 3).

ननु च समास एवैतद् भवति पूर्वपदम् उत्तरपदम् इति

Oh! the expressions *pūrvapadam* and *uttarapadam* are used with reference to *samāsa*.

नेत्याह । अविशेषेणैवैतद् भवति, पूर्वं पदं पूर्वपदम्, उत्तरं पदं उत्तरपदम् इति

"No," says he. Each is used in a general way: the preceding word is called *pūrvapada* and the following word, *uttarapada*.

प्राक्कडारात्समासः (2, 1, 3)

प्राग्वचनं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *prāk* in the *sūtra*?

NOTE :—This question suggests that the word *samāsa* alone will do in the *sūtra*.

प्राग्वचनं समाससंज्ञानिवृत्त्यर्थम्

Reading of *prāk* is to prevent *samāsa-saṁjñā* from being thrown out.

प्राग्वचनं क्रियते, समाससंज्ञाया अनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यादिति । अक्रियमाणे हि प्राग्वचने अनवकाशा अव्ययीभावादयः संज्ञाः समाससंज्ञां बाधेरन्, ता मा बाधिषत इति प्राग्वचनं क्रियते ।

The word *prāk* is read so that the *samāsasaṁjñā* may not be thrown out. If *prāk* is not read, the *saṁjñās* like *avyayībhāva* which are *anavakāśa* will set it at naught. In order that they may not set it at naught, the word *prāk* is read.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि हि प्राग्वचने यावता अनवकाशा अव्ययीभावादयः संज्ञाः कस्मादेव न बाधन्ते?

Even when *prāk* is read, why do not *avyayībhāva* and others, being *anavakāśa*, set it at naught?

क्रियमाणे हि प्राग्वचने, सत्यां समाससंज्ञायाम्, एता अवयवसंज्ञा आरभ्यन्ते । तत्र वचनात् समावेशो भविष्यति ।

If *prāk* is read, *samāsa-saṁjñā* first takes hold and then only there is room for other *saṁjñās* of smaller range to be applied,

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Hence on the authority of *vacana*, both remain at the same time.

समाससंज्ञापि अनवकाशा सा वचनाद्भविष्यति

Samāsasaṁjñā, too, if it is *anavakāśa*, has to operate there on the authority of *vacana*.

सावकाशा समाससंज्ञा But it is *sāvakāśa*.

कोऽवकाशः? Where is the room for it to operate?

विस्पष्टादीन्यवकाशः - विस्पष्टं पटुः विस्पष्टपटुः, व्यक्तं पटुः व्यक्तपटुः

Samāsasaṁjñā has room to operate when *vispaṣṭa* etc. are followed by words denoting quality, so that *vispaṣṭam* and *paṭuḥ* compound into *vispaṣṭ-paṭuḥ* and *vyaktam* and *paṭuḥ* compound into *vyakta-paṭuḥ*.

NOTE:—1. The words that are read in *vispaṣṭa-gaṇa* are *vispaṣṭa*, *vicitra*, *vicitta*, *vyakta* and *sampanna* and the *guṇa-vācaka-śabdas* read there are *paṭu*, *paṇḍita*, *kuśala*, *capala* and *nipuṇa*.

NOTE:—2. *Kāiyaṭa* says that, since *vispaṣṭa* etc. form the *viśēṣaṇas* of *pāṭavaḥ* etc., the *pravṛttinimitta* of *paṭu* etc., they do not form the *mukhya-viśēṣaṇa* of *paṭu* and hence *vispaṣṭa-paṭuḥ* may not be taken as *tatpuruṣa*.

नैषोऽस्त्यवकाशः । एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते - येनैव अवयवकार्यं भवति, तेनैव समुदायकार्यमपि भवति इति । येनैव चात्रावयवकार्यं स्वरः क्रियते, तेनैव समुदायकार्यमपि समासो भविष्यति, विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु इति ।

No, this is not the *avakāśa*. This is the procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) that the *sūtra* which brings out a *kārya* to the *avayava* accomplishes the *kārya* of the whole too. The *sūtra* *Vispaṣṭādīni guṇavacanēṣu* (6, 2, 24) which enjoins *pūrvapada-prakṛti-svaratva* (the *avayavakārya*) in *vispaṣṭapaṭuḥ*, *vyaktapaṭuḥ* etc., enjoins *samāsasaṁjñā* too (*samudāya-kārya*).

इदं तर्हि काकतालीयम् अजाकृपाणीयम्

If so, *kākatālīyam* and *ajākṛpāṇīyam* form the *avakāśa* for the *samāsa-saṁjñā* to operate.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अत्रापि येनैव अवयवकार्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः क्रियते, तेनैव समुदायकार्यं समाससंज्ञा भविष्यति - समासाच्च तद्विषयादिति ।

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This, too, does not serve as a *prayōjana*. Even here the *sūtra Samāsācca tadviṣayāt* (5, 3, 106) which enjoins *chapratyaya*, the *avayava-kārya*, brings out *samāsa-saṁjñā*, the *samudāya-kārya*.

इदं तर्हि पुनाराजः, पुनर्गवः

If so, *punārājaḥ* and *punargavaḥ* form the *avakāśa*.

अत्राप्यवश्यं तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा वक्तव्या, तत्पुरुषाश्रयः समासान्तो यथा स्यात्

Here too there is absolute necessity to enjoin *tatpuruṣasaṁjñā*, so that *samāsāntapratyaya* may set in.

इदं तर्हि पुनराधेयम् If so, *punar-ādhēyam* forms the *avakāśa*.

अत्राप्यवश्यं गतिसंज्ञा वक्तव्या - गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् इत्येष स्वरो यथा स्यात्

Even here *gati-saṁjñā* has to be enjoined (by the *vārttika Punaścanasāu chandasi* under 1, 4, 60), so that *ēkāra* may be *udātta* by the *sūtra Gatikārakōpapadāt kṛt* (6, 2, 139).

इदं तर्हि पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयम्

If so, *punar-utsyūtam* in *Punar-utsyūtam vāsō dēyam* forms the *avakāśa*.

अत्राप्यवश्यं गतिसंज्ञा वक्तव्या गतिर्गतौ इति निघातो यथा स्यात्, यदि तन्नास्ति पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि इति

Even here *gati-saṁjñā* has to be enjoined in the absence of the *vārttika Punaścanasāu chandasi*, so that *nighāta* can be secured by the *sūtra Gatirgatāu* (8, 1, 70).

सति तस्मिंस्तेनैव सिद्धम्

The object is achieved if it is taken into consideration.

एवमप्येका संज्ञेति वचनान्नास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः

Even then, on the authority of *Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā*, both cannot exist simultaneously.

पर्यायः प्रसज्येत

There will be chance for either to operate at a time.

तस्मात् प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम्

Hence is the need to read the word *prāk* in the *sūtra*.

सह सुपा (2, 1, 4)

सहवचनं किमर्थम्? What for is the word *saha*?

सहवचनं पृथगसमासार्थम्

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Reading of *saha* is to prevent each member from getting *samāsa-saṁjñā*.

सहग्रहणं क्रियते, सहभूतयोरेव समाससंज्ञा यथा स्याद्, एकैकस्य समाससंज्ञा मा भूदिति ।

The word *saha* is read, so that the component members of a compound conjointly take the *samāsa-saṁjñā* and not individually.

किं च स्यात्, यद्येकैकस्य समाससंज्ञा स्यात्?

What will happen if each member takes *samāsa-saṁjñā* individually?

इह ऋक्पाद इति समासान्तः प्रसज्येत । इह राजाश्वः इति द्वौ स्वरौ स्याताम्

The word *ṛkpāda* will take *samāsāntapratyayo* (and will have chance to take the form *ṛcapāda*) and *rājāśva* will have two of its syllables *udātta*.

कथं च कृत्वैकैकस्य समाससंज्ञा प्राप्नोति?

On what basis is it possible to take *samāsa-saṁjñā* individually?

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिर्दृष्टा इति । तद्यथा वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे प्रत्येकं भवतः

It is seen that the fruit of the meaning of a sentence is enjoyed individually. For instance the *saṁjñās vṛddhi* and *guṇa* are applied individually.

ननु चायमप्यस्ति दृष्टान्तः समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः इति । तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम् इति, अर्थिनश्च राजानो हिरण्येन भवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति

Oh! the other *nyāya* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively. *Viz. Gargāḥ śatam daṇḍyantām.* Kings want money and they do not fine them individually.

सत्येतस्मिन् दृष्टान्ते यदि तत्र प्रत्येकमित्युच्यते, इहापि सहग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । अथ तत्र अन्तरेण प्रत्येकमिति वचनं प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवतः, इहापि नार्थः सहग्रहणेन ।

If, in the presence of this *nyāya*, the word *pratyēkam* is there, here too the word *saha* should be read. If, without the use of the word *pratyēkam* there, the *saṁjñās guṇa* and *vṛddhi* take place individually, here too can it take place collectively without the use of the word *saha*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्सहग्रहणं करोति, तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं - योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत । सति च योगाङ्गे योगविभागः करिष्यते

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When it is thus possible to achieve the object without the word *saha* in the *sūtra*, *Ācārya* reads it and it has this *prayōjana* that it may be taken as a part of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. When it becomes a part of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *sūtra Saha supā* is split into *Saha* and *Supā*.

सह - सुप् समस्यते

The *sūtra Saha* means that *subanta* compounds with another.

केन सह? With what?

समर्थेन - अनुव्यचलत् अनुप्राविशत्

With that which has *sāmarthya* with it. *Viz. Anuvyacalat* and *anuprāviśat*.

NOTE:—*Anu* is *subanta* with the case-suffix dropped.

ततः सुपा Then is the *sūtra Supā*.

सुपा च सह सुप् समस्यते

Subanta compounds with another *subanta*.

अधिकारश्च लक्षणं च

This *sūtra* is both *adhikāra-sūtra* and *lakṣaṇa-sūtra*.

यस्य समासस्य अन्यल्लक्षणं नास्ति इदं तस्य लक्षणं भविष्यति - पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयम्, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः (Y. V. 1, 5, 2, 4) इति

This *sūtra* serves as the *lakṣaṇa-sūtra* of those cases which do not have a *lakṣaṇa-sūtra* for them, as for *punar-utsyūtam* and *punar-niṣkṛtaḥ* in the expressions *Punar-utsyūtam vāsō dēyam* and *Punar-niṣkṛtō rathaḥ*.

इवेन विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च

In the *samāsa* with *iva*, there is no elision of case-suffixes and there is *pūrva-pada-prakṛti-svara*.

इवेन सह समासो, विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् - वाससीइव, कन्येइव

There will be *samāsa* with *iva*, when there will be no elision of case-suffix and the former member will take its usual accent, as in *vāsasīiva* and *kanyēiva*.

अव्ययीभावः (2, 1, 5)

किमर्थं महती संज्ञा क्रियते? What for is a long *saṁjñā* made?

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत - अनव्ययम् अव्ययं भवतीत्यव्ययीभावः। अव्ययीभावोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवतीति एतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति।

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So that it may be taken as a *saṁjñā* true to its derivative meaning. It is split thus :—*Anavyayam avyayam bhavati.* The *phala* is that it is not necessary to enjoin separately that *avyayībhāva* is *avyaya*.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धि...साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (2, 1, 6)

इह कस्मान्न भवति - सुमद्राः, सुमगधाः, सपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः ?

Why is not *avyayībhāvasaṁjñā* applied to *sumadrāḥ, sumagadhāḥ, saputraḥ* and *sacchātraḥ*?

समृद्धौ साकल्ये इति च प्राप्नोति

It deserves to be applied there, since *samṛddhi* is suggested in the former two and *sākalya* in the latter two.

नैष दोषः । इह कश्चित् समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् अन्यपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उभयपदार्थप्रधानः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावः, उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः, अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः, उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः । न चात्र पूर्वपदार्थप्राधान्यं गम्यते ।

There is no room for this complaint. In literature, some compounds have *prādhānya* in *pūrvapadārtha*, some in *uttarapadārtha*, some in *anyapadārtha* and some in *ubhayapadārtha*. *Avyayībhāva* has *pūrvapadārthaprādhānya*, *tatpuruṣa uttarapadārthaprādhānya*, *bahuvrīhi anyapadārthaprādhānya* and *dvandva ubhayapadārthaprādhānya*. *Pūrvapadārthaprādhānya* is not suggested here – in *sumadrāḥ* etc.

अथ वा समासार्था निर्दिश्यन्ते

Or these - *vibhakti, samīpa* etc. in the *sūtra* - are not mentioned as *samāsārthas*.

किं तर्हि ? What then?

अव्ययार्था इमे निर्दिश्यन्ते - एतेष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् सुबन्तेन सह समस्यत इति

These are mentioned as the meanings of *avyayas*. Hence the *sūtra* tells us that the *avyaya* which has any of these meanings compounds itself with *subanta*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* writes :—*Sumadrā ityatra ... su-śabdas-tu samṛddhi-dyōtakō na tu vācakaḥ. Saputra ityatrāpi sahaśabdas tulyayōgasya vācakaḥ na tu sākalyasya.*

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यथाऽसादृश्ये (2, 1, 7)

असादृश्य इति किमर्थम्? What for is *asādṛśyē*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that there are three reasons for this question:—1. Since *yathā* has to deal with *upamāna*, it is *sāpēkṣa* with reference to *upamēya*. 2. *Yathā* has *śakti* to mean *sādṛśya*. 3. The *sūtra* contradicts what is said in the previous *sūtra*.

यथा देवदत्तस्तथा यज्ञदत्त इति

So that *samāsa* may not happen to *yathā* and *Dēvadatta* in the expression *Yathā Dēvadattaḥ tathā Yajñyadattaḥ*.

असादृश्य इत्युच्यते, तत्रेदं न सिध्यति यथाशक्ति यथाबलम् इति

Since *asādṛśyē* is read, the forms *yathāśakti* and *yathābalam* cannot be secured.

किं कारणम्? Why?

यथेत्ययं प्रकारवचने थाल्, स च सादृश्ये वर्तते

The word *yathā* has the *suffix thā* which conveys the meaning of manner and hence *yathā* denotes *sādṛśya*.

नैष दोषः । अयं यथाशब्दोऽस्त्येवाव्युत्पन्नः प्रातिपदिकं वीप्सावाचि । अस्ति प्रकारवचने थाल् । तत्र यदव्युत्पन्नं प्रातिपदिकं वीप्सावाचि तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ।

This difficulty does not arise. This *yathā* is both an *avyut-panna-prātipadika* meaning repetition and one having the suffix *thā* in the sense of manner. Of these two, the *yathā* used in this *sūtra* is the *avyutpanna-prātipadika* meaning *vīpsā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Vīpsāgrahaṇam upalakṣaṇam, tēna yōgyatāpadārthānativṛttī api yathārthāu.*

अथ यः प्रकारवचने थाल् तस्य ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति, पूर्वेण प्राप्नोति सादृश्यसंपत्ति....इति?

How is it that *yathā* having the *pratyaya iha* in the sense of *manner* which comes within the range of the previous *sūtra*.... *Sādṛśya-sampatti*.... is not taken here?

प्रतिषेधवचनसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति

It is not taken here since *pratiṣēdha* is read here.

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सुप्प्रतिना मात्रार्थे (2, 1, 9)

सुब् इति वर्तमाने पुनः सुब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

When the word *sup* can be taken here by *anuvṛtti* (from the *sūtra Sub āmantritē parāṅgavat svarē* 2, 1, 2), what is the need for reading the word *sup* again here?

अव्ययमित्येवं तदभूत् । सुबमात्रे यथा स्यात् - माषप्रति, सूपप्रति, ओदनप्रति ।

The *sup* there was applied to *avyaya*. In order that this may hold good for the words which can take all case-suffixes after them, as in *māṣa-prati*, *sūpa-prati* and *ōdana-prati*, it is again read here.

NOTE:—The *mātrārtha* referred to here is a small portion.

अक्षशलाकासङ्ख्याः परिणा (2, 1, 10)

अक्षादयस्तृतीयान्ताः परिणा पूर्वोक्तस्य यथा न तत् [1]

The words *akṣa* etc. followed by third case suffix compound with *pari* if defeat is suggested.

अक्षादयस्तृतीयान्ताः परिणा सह समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् । पूर्वोक्तस्य यथा न तत् - अयथाद्योतने - अयथाजातीयकेद्योत्ये - अक्षेणेदं न तथा वृत्तं यथा पूर्वमिति - अक्षपरि, शलाकापरि ।

It must be said that the words *akṣa* etc. in the third case compound with *prati.* When it suggests that the cast of dice was not as it had been before (i.e.) when it suggests that there was defeat in the game. *Viz. Akṣapari* and *śalākāpari.*

एकत्वेऽक्षशलाकयोः [2] Of *akṣa* and *śalākā* in the singular number.

अक्षशलकयोश्चैकवचनान्तयोरिति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् अक्षाभ्यां वृत्तं, अक्षैर्वृत्तमिति

It must be said that *akṣa* and *śalākā* compound with *prati* only when they are in singular number, so that there will be no compound in *akṣābhyām vṛttam* and *akṣāir vṛttam.*

कितवव्यवहारे च Only with reference to the dealings of a rogue.

1. *Ayathādyōtanē* is added at the end in some editions. Since it happens to be the explanation of *pūrvōktasya yathā na tat*, the reading without it seems to be better.

2. *Akṣaśalākayōścāikavacanāntayōḥ* is another reading.

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कितवव्यवहारे इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् - अक्षेणेदं न तथा वृत्तं, शकटेन यथा पूर्वमिति

It must be said that it is only with reference to the dealings of a rogue, so that it does not happen in the following cases:—*akṣēṇa idam na tathā vṛttam, śakaṭēna yathā pūrvam.* What are mentioned above are the parts of the *ślōkavārttika.*

अक्षादयस्तृतीयान्ताः पूर्वोक्तस्य यथा न तत् ।
कितवव्यवहारे च एकत्वेऽक्षशलाकयोः ॥

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:—*Pañcikā nāma dyūtam pañcabhir akṣāiḥ śalākābhir vā bhavāti. Tatra yadā sarvē ēkarūpāḥ patanti tadā pātayitā jayati; anyathā tu pātē parājīyatē.*

विभाषापपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या (2, 1, 11)

विभाषेति योगविभागः *Vibhāṣā* must be split as a separate *sūtra.*

विभाषेति योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । विभाषेत्ययमधिकारः । ततः अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या इति

The word *vibhāṣā* must be split as a separate *sūtra* and it is an *adhikāra-sūtra.* Then *Apa-pari-bahir-añcavaḥ pañcamyā* must be taken as another *sūtra.*

पञ्चमीग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to dispense with the word *pañcamyā.*

कथम्? How is it possible?

सुबन्तेनेति वर्तते । एतैश्च कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी विधीयते । तत्रान्तरेणापि पञ्चमीग्रहणं पञ्चम्यन्तैव समासो भविष्यति ।

There is *anuvṛtti* for *subantēna.* Fifth case is enjoined to nouns which are in association with these *karmapravacanīyas* by the *sūtra Pañcamyapāṅparibhiḥ* (2, 3, 10). Hence even without the mention of the word *pañcamyā* in this *sūtra, samāsa* will take place only with *pañcamyanta.*

NOTE:—There is *anuvṛtti* only to *supā. Subantēna* is secured through *tadanta-grahaṇa.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - बहिःशब्देन योगे पञ्चमी न विधीयते, तत्रापि यथा स्यात् - बहिर्ग्रामं, बहिर्ग्रामात्

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This, then, is the *prayōjana* that *pañcamyanta* will compound with *bahis*, like *bahirgrāmāt* in addition to *bahir-grāmam*, since it was not enjoined there that the noun takes the fifth case in association with *bahis*.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि पञ्चमीग्रहणे यावता बहिःशब्देन योगे पञ्चमी न विधीयते, कथमिवैतत् सिध्यति ?

How is it possible even on reading *pañcamyā* here for *pañcamyanta* to compound with *bahis*, when no *sūtra* enjoins the use of *pañcamī* after nouns in association with *bahis* ?

पञ्चमीग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the *sāmarthya* of the reading of *pañcamyā* here.

आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः (2, 1, 13)

मर्यादाभिविधिग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to dispense with *maryādābhividhyōḥ*.

कथम् ? How?

पञ्चम्यन्तेनेति वर्तते । आङा च कर्मप्रवचनीयेन युक्ते पञ्चमी विधीयते । एतयोश्चैवार्थयोराङ् कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति, नान्यत्र ।

There is *anuvṛtti* for *pañcamyanta* through *pañcamyā*. Fifth case is enjoined to the noun when it is in association with the *karmapravacanīya āṅ* in 1, 4, 88. *Āṅ* takes *karmapravacanīya-saṁjñā* only when it takes these two meanings and nowhere else.

NOTE :—*Sūtrakāra* has read only *maryādā* in 1, 4, 88 and he has here read *maryādābhividhyōḥ*. Hence it would have been better if *Mahābhāṣyakāra* had read only *maryādāgrahaṇam śakyam akartum*.

यस्य चायामः (2, 1, 16)

किमुदाहरणम् ? What is the example ?

अनुगङ्गं हास्तिनपुरम्, अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी, अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम्

Anugaṅgam Hāstinapuram (*Hāstinapuram* is as long as the Ganges), *Anugaṅgam Vārāṇasī* and *Anuśōṇam Pāṭaliputram*.

यस्य चायामः इत्युच्यते, गङ्गा चाप्यायता, हास्तिनपुरमप्यायतं, वाराणस्यप्यायता । तत्र कुत एतद् गङ्गाया सह समासो भविष्यति न पुनर्हास्तिनपुरेण, न वारणस्या इति ?

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The *sūtra* says that the *samāsa* takes place with the word whose length is taken into consideration. *Gaṅgā* too is long. *Hāstinapuram* too is long and *Vārāṇasī* too is long. Why should *samāsa* take place only with *Gaṅgā* and not with *Hāstinapura* or *Vārāṇasī* ?

एवं तर्हि लक्षणेन इति वर्तते । गङ्गा चैव हि लक्षणं न वाराणसी [1]

If so, the word *lakṣaṇēna* is taken here by *anuvṛtti* from 2, 1, 14. Here it is only *Gaṅgā* that is *lakṣaṇa* and not *Vārāṇasī*.

अथ वा यस्य चायामः इत्युच्यते । गङ्गा चाप्यायता वाराणस्यप्यायता । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञायते - साधीयो यस्यायामः इति । साधीयश्च गङ्गायाः, न वाराणस्याः ॥

Or the *sūtra* is read *Yasya cāyāmaḥ*. *Gaṅgā* is *āyatā* and *Vārāṇasī* too. That which is more *āyata* is taken into consideration. The *āyāma* of *Gaṅgā* is greater and not that of *Vārāṇasī*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the first explanation is based upon the *lakṣyalakṣaṇabhāva* between *Vārāṇasī* and *Gaṅgā* and the second is based upon *upamēyōpamānabhāva* between them.

तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि च (2, 1, 17)

किमर्थश्चकारः ? What does *ca* mean ?

एवकारार्थः, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीन्येव

It means *ēva*, to comprehend only *Tiṣṭhadguguṇa*.

क मा भूत् ? With what should they not compound ?

परमं तिष्ठद्गु

Tiṣṭhadgu cannot form a compound with *Paramam*.

तिष्ठद्गु कालविशेषे Need to add *kālaviśēṣē* to *tiṣṭhadgu*.

तिष्ठद्गु कालविशेषे इति वक्तव्यम् - तिष्ठन्ति गावोऽस्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्गु ।

Tiṣṭhadgu must be taken to denote a particular time and it is split thus :—*Tiṣṭhanti gāvaḥ asmin*.

वहद्गु *Vahadgu* also denotes a particular time.

खलेयवादीनि प्रथमान्तान्यन्यपदार्थे

Khalēyava etc. must be read to form compounds only in the nominative case to denote *anyapadārtha*.

1. The reading here may have been *Na Hāstinapuram na Vārāṇasī*.

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खलेयवादीनि प्रथमान्तानि अन्यपदार्थे समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, पूनयवम्, पूयमानयवम् ।

It must be read that *khalēyava* etc. form compounds in the nominative case denoting *anyapadārtha*:—*Khalēyavam* (floor where *yava* is thrashed), *khalēbusam, lūnayavam, pūnayavam* and *pūyamānayavam.*

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा (2, 1, 18)

वावचनं किमर्थम्? Why is *vā* read?

विभाषा समासो यथा स्यात् । समासेन मुक्ते वाक्यमपि यथा स्यात् - पारं गङ्गाया इति ।

To make *samāsa* optional so that, in its absence, the phrase like *Pāram Gaṅgāyāḥ* may be read.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रकृता महाविभाषा, तया वाक्यमपि भविष्यति

No, this is not the *prayōjana*. There is *mahāvibhāṣā* by *Vibhāṣā* (2, 1, 11) and the phrase may be allowed by it.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्, अव्ययीभावेन मुक्ते षष्ठीसमासो यथा स्याद् गङ्गापारम् इति

This then is the benefit that, in the absence of *avyayībhāva-samāsa*, *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* - *Gaṅgāpāram* - may set in.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अयमपि विभाषा, षष्ठीसमासोऽपि तावुभौ वचनाद्भविष्यतः ।

This, too, is not the benefit. This too is optional. Hence both *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* and the phrase, may appear.

अत उत्तरं पठति *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) answers it thus.

पारेमध्ये षष्ठ्या वावचनम्, अवचने हि षष्ठीसमासाभावो यथैकदेशिप्रधाने

Vā has to be read in *Pārēmadhyē ṣaṣṭhyā vā*; otherwise *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa* has no chance as in *ēkadēśipradhāna-samāsa.*

पारेमध्ये षष्ठ्या वा इति वक्तव्यम्

Vā must be read in *Pārēmadhyē ṣaṣṭhyā vā.*

अवचने हि षष्ठीसमासाभावः यथैकदेशिप्रधाने - अक्रियमाणे हि वावचने षष्ठीसमासस्याभावः स्यात्, यथा एकदेशिप्रधाने - तद्यथा एकदेशिसमासेन मुक्ते षष्ठीसमासो न भवति

There will be no *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* in its absence as in *ēkadēśi-pradhāna*—If *vā* is not read, *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* has no chance as in

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ēkadēśipradhāna-samāsa. There is no *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa*, if *ēkadēśi-pradhāna-samāsa* (*pūrvakāyaḥ*) is not formed.

किं पुनः कारणमेकदेशिसमासेन मुक्ते षष्ठीसमासो न भवति?

Why is there no *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa* in the absence of *ēkadēśisamāsa*?

समासतद्धितानां वृत्तिर्विभाषा, वृत्तिविषये नित्योऽपवादः

Ekārthībhāva is optional in *samāsa* and *taddhitānta* and *apavāda* is *nitya* in the case of *vṛtti*.

इह पुनः वावचने क्रियमाणे एकया वृत्तिर्विभाषा, अपरया वृत्तिविषये [1] विभाषापवादः

If *vā* is read here, the *vṛtti* becomes optional by one and *apavāda* becomes optional in the case of *vṛtti* by another.

एकारान्तनिपातनं च *Ekārāntanipātana* too.

एकारान्तनिपातनं च कर्तव्यम् - पारेगङ्गम् इति

Nipātana of *ēkārānta* in the *sūtra* is necessary to secure *pārēgaṅgam*.

न कर्तव्यम् । सप्तम्या अलुका सिद्धम्

No, it is not. It is secured on the strength of *bahulam* in *Tatpuruṣē kṛti bahulam* (6, 3, 14).

भवेत् सिद्धं यदा सप्तमी ; यदा त्वन्या विभक्तयस्तदा न सिध्यति

It may be accomplished in the case of *saptamī*, but not in the case of other case-suffixes.

नदीभिश्च (2, 1, 20)

नदीभिः सङ्ख्यासमासेऽन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधः

Need to prohibit *avyayībhāva* between a word denoting number and the name of rivers, if the compound means one other than rivers.

नदीभिः सङ्ख्यासमासे अन्यपदार्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः द्वीरावतीको देशः, त्रीरावतीको देशः । नदीभिः सङ्ख्या इति प्राप्नोति

Avyayībhāva is to be prohibited between a word denoting number and the name of rivers if the meaning is *anyapadārtha*, as *Dvīrāvatīkaḥ* and *Trīrāvatīkaḥ* in *Dvīrāvatīkō dēśaḥ* and *Trīrāvatīkō dēśaḥ*, since, otherwise, it may happen by this *sūtra*.

1. Panduranga Javaji edition reads *nityaḥ* in place of *vibhāṣā*.

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न वक्तव्यः । इह कश्चित्समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् अन्यपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उभयपदार्थप्रधानः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावः, उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः, अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः, उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः । न चात्र पूर्वपदार्थप्राधान्यं गम्यते ।

No, it need not be read. One *samāsa* is *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*, one *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, one *anyapadārthapradhāna* and another is *ubhayapadārthapradhāna*. *Avyayībhāva* is *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*, *tatpuruṣa* is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, *bahuvrīhi* is *anyapadārthapradhāna* and *dvandva* is *ubhayapadārthapradhāna*. Prominence on the former member of the compound is not seen here.

ननु च यद्येनोच्यते स तस्यार्थो भवति, अत्र च वयमेताभ्यां पदाभ्यामेतमर्थमुच्यमानं पश्यामः ।

Oh! that which is conveyed by a word is taken to be its meaning. We see here that this meaning is conveyed by the two words.

एतदेव न जानीमः, यद्येनोच्यते स तस्यार्थ इति

We are not aware of this:—that which is conveyed by a word is its meaning.

अपि च अन्यपदार्थप्रधानता न कल्पेत - चित्रगुः, शबलगुः इति

Besides it is not possible to arrive at *anyapadārthapradhānatā* in *Citraguḥ* and *Śabalaguḥ*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अत्रापि हि वयमेताभ्यां शब्दाभ्यामेतमर्थमुच्यमानं पश्यामः

Even here (in *citragu*) we see that this meaning is conveyed by the two words.

यद्यप्यत्र एताभ्यां पदाभ्यामेषोऽर्थ उच्यते, अन्यपदार्थोऽपि तु गम्यते, तत्रान्यपदार्थाश्रयो बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति ।

Even though the meaning is conveyed by the two words, the meaning of another *pada* also is suggested by them and in such cases *bahuvrīhi* which is *anyapadārthapradhāna* will set in.

इहापि तर्हि यद्यप्यन्यपदार्थोऽत्र गम्यते, स्वपदार्थोऽपि तु गम्यते, तत्र स्वपदाश्रयोऽव्ययीभावः प्राप्नोति

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If, here, *svapadārtha* also is conveyed in addition to *anyapadārtha*, *avyayībhāva* which is *svapadāśraya* may set in.

एवं तर्हीदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - अव्ययीभावः क्रियतां बहुव्रीहिरिति, बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति विप्रतिषेधेन

If so, this is to be determined whether *avyayībhāva* sets in here or *bahuvrīhi*; the latter will set in through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*.

भवेदेकसंज्ञाधिकारे सिद्धम्, परङ्कार्यत्वे तु न सिध्यति । आरम्भसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः प्राप्नोति, परङ्कार्यत्वाच्च बहुव्रीहिः ।

The object will be achieved on the dictum *Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā*, but not on the dictum *Prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam*. There is chance for *avyayībhāva* through *ārambha-sāmarthya* and for *bahuvrīhi* through *paraṅkāryatva*.

परङ्कार्यत्वे च न दोषः । नदीभिः सङ्ख्यायाः समाहारेऽव्ययीभावो वक्तव्यः

There is no harm in *paraṅkāryatva* too. *Avyayībhāva* has to be enjoined when there is *samāhāra* between a word denoting number and the names of rivers.

स चावश्यं वक्तव्यः - सर्वमेकनदीतरे

The word *samāhāra* must necessarily be read with reference to the *avyayībhāva* between *saṅkhyā* and *nadī*, so that the form *ēkanadītarē* in *Sarvam ēkanadītarē* can be secured.

द्विगुश्च (2, 1, 23)

द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषत्वे कानि प्रयोजनानि?

What are the benefits in taking *dvigu* as *tatpuruṣa*?

द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषत्वे समासान्ताः प्रयोजनम्

Dvigu, if it is *tatpuruṣa*, will have the benefit of taking *samāsānta-pratyayas*.

द्विगोस्तत्पुरुषत्वे समासान्ताः प्रयोजयन्ति - पञ्चगवं, दशगवं, पञ्चराजं, दशराजम्

Appearance of *samāsānta-pratyayas* in *dvigu* is the benefit reaped by taking it as *tatpuruṣa*. *Viz. Pañcagavam*, *daśagavam*, *pañcarājam* and *daśarājam*.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः (2, 1, 24)

श्रितादिषु गमिगाम्यादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Gamī, *gāmī* etc. to be added to *śrita* etc.

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श्रितादिषु गमिगाम्यादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - ग्रामं गमी ग्रामगमी, ग्रामं गामी ग्रामगामी ।

Gamī, *gāmī* etc. must be added to *śritādis*, so that *grāmam* and *gamī* may compound into *grāmagamī* and *grāmam* and *gāmī* into *grāmagāmī*.

श्रितादिभिरहीने द्वितीयासमासवचनानर्थक्यं, बहुव्रीहिकृतत्वात्

Non-necessity of enjoining *dvitīyā-samāsa* of *śrita* etc. with one if it means that which is not abandoned.

श्रितादिभिः अहीनवाचिन्या द्वितीयायाः समासवचनमनर्थकम्

It is unnecessary to enjoin the *samāsa* of words in the second case, meaning *ahīna*, with *śrita* etc.

किं कारणम्? Why?

बहुव्रीहिकृतत्वात् । इह यः कष्टं श्रितः, कष्टमनेन श्रितं भवति इति तत्र बहुव्रीहिणा सिद्धम् ।

Since its purpose is served by *bahuvrīhi*. He who is not separated from *kaṣṭa* is one by whom *kaṣṭa* is taken hold of. Hence its purpose is served by *bahuvrīhi*.

अहीने द्वितीयास्वरवचनानर्थक्यं च

Non-need of *Ahīnē dvitīyā* enjoining *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*.

अहीने द्वितीया - पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति इत्येतत्स्वरवचनम् अनर्थकम्

It is not necessary to enjoin that the *svara* is that of *pūrva-pada* by the *sūtra Ahīnē dvitīyā* (6, 2, 47).

किं कारणम्? Why?

बहुव्रीहिकृतत्वादेव Since the same is found in *bahuvrīhi*.

जातिस्वरप्रसङ्गस्तु

But there is chance for the *svara* enjoined by *Jātikāla*...

जातिस्वरस्तु प्राप्नोति - ग्रामं गतो ग्रामगतः, अरण्यगतः इति । जातिकाल-सुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् क्तोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः इति

The *svara* (*antōdātta*) enjoined by *Jāti-kāla-sukhādibhyōsnā-cchādanāt ktōskṛtamita-pratipannāḥ* (6, 2, 170) will have chance to set in the words *grāmagataḥ* (*grāmam gataḥ*), *araṇyagataḥ* etc.

तत्र जातादिषु वावचनात्सिद्धम्

The aim is secured by changing *Vā jātē* into *Vā jātādiṣu*.

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यदेतद् वा जाते इति एतद् वा जातादिषु वक्ष्यामि । इमे जातादयो भविष्यन्ति ।
I shall read *Vā jātādiṣu* in place of *Vā jātē* (6, 2, 171). These will be included under *jātādis*.

ननु च भेदो भवति - बहुव्रीहौ सति समासान्तोदात्तत्वेनापि भवितव्यं पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वेनापि । तत्पुरुषत्वे सति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वेनैव ।
Oh! there will be difference then. If it is *bahuvrīhi*, it can take both *samāsāntōdāttatva* and *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva*. If it is *tatpuruṣa*, it can take only *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva*.

नास्ति भेदः । योऽपि हि तत्पुरुषमारभते, न तस्य दण्डवारितो बहुव्रीहिः । तत्र तत्पुरुषे सति द्वौ समासौ, द्वौ स्वरौ, बहुव्रीहौ सत्येकः समासो, द्विस्वरत्वम्
No, there will be no difference. For he who takes it as *tatpuruṣa* is not prevented, under the pain of punishment, to take it as *bahuvrīhi* also. Hence when it is taken as *tatpuruṣa*, there are two kinds of *samāsas* and two different *svaras* and when it is taken as *bahuvrīhi*, there is only one *samāsa*, but two different *svaras*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्तत्पुरुषं शास्ति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः समानार्थे केवलं विग्रहभेदाद्यत्र तत्पुरुषः प्राप्नोति बहुव्रीहिश्च, तत्र तत्पुरुष एव भवति इति ।
Hence from the fact that *Ācārya* enjoins *tatpuruṣa* though it is otherwise secured, he suggests that, if a compound can be split both as *tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi* without any change in meaning, it must be taken only as *tatpuruṣa*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is gained from this *jñāpana*?

राज्ञः सखा राजसखः; राजा सखा अस्य इति बहुव्रीहिर्न भवति
The compound word *rājasakhaḥ* can be split only as *rājñaḥ sakhā* and not as *rājā sakhā asya*.

नैतद् ज्ञापकसाध्यम् । अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्ते इति बाधकेनानेन भवितव्यं सामान्यविहितस्य विशेषविहितेन । अथ न सामान्यविहितः ।
This is not accomplished through *jñāpaka*. This, being *viśēṣa-vihita*, has to set at naught the *bahuvrīhi* which is *sāmānya-vihita* through the dictum *Apavādair utsargā bādhyantē*. But *bahuvrīhi* is not even *sāmānyavihita*.

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NOTE:—*Bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* cannot be taken under *utsarga* and *apavāda*, since the former is *anyapadārthapradhāna* and the latter is *svapadārthapradhāna*.

यदुच्यते - बहुव्रीतिकृतत्वाद् इति, एतदयुक्तम्; अस्ति खल्वपि विशेषो बहुव्रीहेस्तत्पुरुषस्य च ।

The expression *bahuvrīhikṛtatvāt* read in the *vārttika* is not correct; for there is difference between *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa*.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that *siddhāntin* condemns *jñāpakatvavādin* and *apavādatvavādin* by *Asti khalvapi*...

किं शब्दकृतः, अथ अर्थकृतः?

Does the difference exist in form or in meaning?

शब्दकृतश्च अर्थकृतश्च

Difference exists both in form and in meaning.

शब्दकृतस्तावत् - बहुव्रीहौ सति कपा भवितव्यम्; तत्पुरुषे सति न भवितव्यम्

Firstly regarding the difference in form, *kap* is suffixed in *bahuvrīhi* (by *Nadyṛtaś ca* 5, 4, 153), but not in *tatpuruṣa*.

अर्थकृतः - तत्पुरुषे सति रुहादीनां क्तः कर्तरि भवति धात्वर्थस्यानपवर्गे - आरूढो वृक्षं देवदत्तः । बहुव्रीहौ व्यपवृक्ते कर्मणि भवति - आरूढो वृक्षो देवदत्तेन इति

With reference to the difference in meaning, *Ārūḍhaḥ* the *ktānta* of *ruh* with *ā* forms *tatpuruṣasamāsa* with *vṛkṣa* when it has the active meaning and its *kartā Dēvadatta* is in contact with any part of the tree; while the same, when it forms a *bahuvrīhisamāsa*, is passive in meaning and its *kartā Dēvadatta* has left his contact with the tree.

अन्यथाजातीयकः खल्वपि प्रत्यक्षेणार्थसम्प्रत्ययः, अन्यथाजातीयकः सम्बन्धात् - राज्ञः सखा राजसखः; सम्बन्धाद् एतद् गन्तव्यं, नूनं राजाप्यस्य सखा इति

Meaning directly denoted by a word is of one kind and that arrived at through *anumāna* is of another kind. The word *rājasakhaḥ* means king's friend and it must be learnt from inference that the king too is his friend.

उभयं खल्वपि इष्यते, स्वस्ति सोमसखा, पुनरेहि गवांसख इति

Both are found necessary in usage. *Viz. Svasti Sōmasakhā* (*bahuvrīhi* compound); *Punar ēhi gavāmsakha* (*tatpuruṣa* compound).

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खट्वा क्षेपे (2, 1, 26)

किमुदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa*?

खट्वारूढः The word *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* (degraded man).

क्षेप इत्युच्यते; कः क्षेपो नाम?
The word *kṣēpa* is read here. What does it refer to?

अधीत्य स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातेन खट्वा आरोढव्या । य इदानीम् अतोऽन्यथा करोति स उच्यते - खट्वारूढोऽयं जाल्मः - नातिव्रतवान् इति ।
Married life should be enjoyed by one only after studying the *Vēdas* and performing the purificatory bath with the permission of the *Vēdic* teacher. He who does contrary to it is called *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ*. Hence it now means a degraded man who does not strictly perform the *vratas* enjoined to him.

NOTE:—The word *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* is semantically important.

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च (2, 1, 28)

अत्यन्तसंयोगे समासस्याविशेषवचनात् क्तेन समासवचनानर्थक्यम्
No need for the *sūtra Kālāḥ* since *Atyantasaṁyōgē ca* refers to both *ktānta* and *aktānta*.

अत्यन्तसंयोगे समासस्याविशेषवचनात् क्तान्तेन च अक्तान्तेन च कालाः क्तान्तेन इति एतत्समासवचनमनर्थकम्; अत्यन्तसंयोगे इत्येव सिद्धम्
Since this *sūtra Atyantasaṁyōgē ca* has reference to both *ktānta* and *aktānta*, the *sūtra Kālāḥ* (*ktēna*) serves no purpose and *Atyantasaṁyōgē ca* alone will do.

अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं तु It is for *anatyantasaṁyōga*.

अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं तर्हि इदं वक्तव्यम् - षण्मुहूर्ताश्चराचराः । ते कदाचिदहर्गच्छन्ति, कदाचिद्रात्रिम् । तदुच्यते अहर्गताः रात्रिगता इति ।
The *sūtra* (*Kālāḥ*) must be read to refer to *an-atyantasaṁyōga*. *Viz. Ṣaṇmuhūrtāḥ carācarāḥ*. They sometimes (in *uttarāyaṇa*) walk at daytime and sometimes (in *dakṣiṇāyana*) walk at night. Hence they are called *ahargatāḥ* and *rātrigatāḥ*.

नैतदस्ति; गतग्रहणादप्येतत् सिद्धम्
This need not be. The object is achieved since *gata* is read with *śrita* in 2, 1, 24.

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इदं तर्हि, अहरतिसृताः, रात्र्यतिसृताः, मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमाः

For the sake of these then :—*Ahar-atisṛtāḥ*, *rātryatisṛtāḥ* and *māsapramitaḥ* in *māspramitaś candramāḥ*.

तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन (2, 1, 30)

The *prayōjana* of the words *tatkṛtārthēna* and *guṇavacanēna*, the meaning of the latter and the purpose of *artha* in *tatkṛtārthēna* are the *four* topics here.

I

तत्कृतार्थेन इति किमर्थम्? Why is *tatkṛtārthēna* read?

दध्ना पटुः, घृतेन पटुः

The prevent *dadhnā* and *paṭuḥ* and *ghṛtēna* and *paṭuḥ* from compounding with each other (since *dadhnā* and *ghṛtēna* are *tṛtīyānta* and *paṭuḥ* is *guṇavacana*).

नैतदस्ति । असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति

No, it is not so. There will be no *samāsa* thro' *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? How is *asāmarthya* to be explained?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति । न हि दध्नः पटुना सामर्थ्यम्

On the basis of the dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*. There is no *sāmarthya* for *dadhi* with *paṭutva*.

केन तर्हि? With what then?

भुजिना; दध्ना भुङ्क्ते पटुः इति

With the verb *bhuj* thus:—*dadhnā bhuṅktē paṭuḥ*.

इहापि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति - शङ्कुलाखण्डः, किरिकाणः इति । अत्रापि न शङ्कुलायाः खण्डेन सामर्थ्यम्

If so, it cannot operate even here: in *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ* and *kirikāṇaḥ*; there is no *sāmarthya* even here for *śaṅkulā* with *khaṇḍa*.

केन तर्हि? With what then?

करोतिना, शङ्कुलया कृतः खण्ड इति

With the root *kṛ* thus:—*Śaṅkulayā kṛtaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*.

वचनाद्भविष्यति It will happen through this *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि वचनात् प्राप्नोति - दध्ना पटुः, घृतेन पटुः इति

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If so, *samāsa* will appear even here - in *dadhnā paṭuḥ* and *ghṛtēna paṭuḥ* by this *sūtra*.

तस्मात् तत्कृतार्थग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Hence the word *tatkṛtārthēna* should be read.

II

गुणवचनेनेति किमर्थम्? Why is *guṇavacanēna* read?

गोभिर्वपावान्, धान्येन धनवान्

Otherwise *gōbhiḥ* will compound with *vapāvān* and *dhānyēna* with *dhanavān*.

III

किं पुनरिहोदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa* here?

शङ्कुलाखण्डो देवदत्तः इति *Śaṅkulākhaṇḍō Dēvadattaḥ*.

कथं पुनर्गुणवचनेन समास उच्यमानो द्रव्यवचनेन स्यात्?

How is it that, though *samāsa* is enjoined with *guṇavacana* (word denoting quality) in the *sūtra*, it is made with *dravya-vacana* in the *udāharaṇa*.

इह 'तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणेन' इति इयता सिद्धं, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यद्वचनग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं - एवं यथा विज्ञायेत गुणम् उक्तवता गुणवचननेन इति

Had the *Sūtrakāra* meant that the *samāsa* is with the word denoting quality, *Tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthēna gunēṇa* will do. The purpose of his having read *guṇavacanēna* instead of *guṇēna*, is that it means 'with the word denoting *dravya* having the quality.'

कथं पुनरयं गुणवचनः सन् द्रव्यवचनः सम्पद्यते?

How can *guṇavācaka* become *dravya-vācaka*?

आरभ्यते तत्र मतुब्लोपः - गुणवचनेभ्यो मतुपो लुगिति । तद्यथा - शुक्लगुणः शुक्लः, कृष्णगुणः कृष्णः, एवं खण्डगुणः खण्डः

Vārttikakāra reads the elision of *matup-pratyaya* there in *Guṇavacanēbhyō matupō luk*. Hence *śuklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ* denote white, and black, object. So also does *khaṇḍaḥ* denote the object having it.

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यद्येवं नार्थः तत्कृतार्थग्रहणेन । भवति हि शङ्कुलायाः खण्डेन सामर्थ्यम् । असामर्थ्याच्चात्र न भविष्यति - दध्ना पटुः, घृतेन पटुः इति । तस्मान्नार्थः तत्कृतार्थग्रहणेन ।

If so, no purpose is served by reading *tat-kṛtārthēna*; for there is *sāmarthya* between *śaṅkulā* and *khaṇḍa*. *Dadhnā paṭuḥ* and *ghṛtēna paṭuḥ*, do not compound thro' *asāmarthya*. Hence *tatkṛtārthēna* need not be read.

IV

तृतीयासमासेऽर्थग्रहणमनर्थकमर्थगतिर्ह्यवचनात्

Reading *artha* in the *sūtra* dealing with *tṛtīyā-samāsa* is unnecessary since the desired meaning is secured without it.

तृतीयासमासेऽर्थग्रहणमनर्थकम्

Reading *artha* in the *sūtra* enjoining *tṛtīyāsamāsa* is of no use.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अर्थगतिर्ह्यवचनात् - अन्तरेणापि वचनमर्थगतिर्भविष्यति ।

The meaning is secured even without it.

निर्देश्यमिति चेत्तृतीयार्थनिर्देशोऽपि

If it is considered necessary, *tatkṛta* should also be replaced by *tadarthakṛta*.

अथैवमपि निर्देशः कर्तव्य इति चेत् तृतीयार्थनिर्देशोऽपि कर्तव्यः स्यात् - तृतीया तदर्थकृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन इति वक्तव्यम् ।

If it is said that, even then, it should be read, *tṛtīyārtha* too must be read thus:—*Tṛtīyā tadarthakṛtēna guṇavacanēna.*

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must, then, be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । नायमर्थनिर्देशः

No, it need not be read. *Artha* is not here used in the sense of *meaning*.

किं तर्हि ? What, then ?

योगाङ्गमिदं निर्दिश्यते This is read as a part of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

सति च योगाङ्गे योगविभागः करिष्यते - 'तृतीया तत्कृतेन गुणवचनेन' समस्यते । ततः 'अर्थेन', अर्थशब्देन च तृतीया समस्यते - धान्यार्थः, वसनार्थः, हिरण्यार्थः । पूर्वसदृशसमो नार्थेत्यर्थग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति इति ।

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When it is a part of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is split as a separate *sūtra* thus:—*Tṛtīyā tatkṛtēna guṇavacanēna* (*samasyatē*). Then *Arthēna* which means that the word in the third case compounds itself with the word *artha*. *Viz.*, *dhānyārthaḥ*, *vasanārthaḥ*, *hiraṇyārthaḥ*. And the word *artha* need not be read in the next *sūtra* *Pūrva-sadṛśa-samōnārtha*....

NOTE 1:—In that case *tat-kṛta* has the third case suffix dropped after it.

NOTE 2:—The difference between the opinion of *Vārttikakāra* and that of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* is this:-the former states that *artha* need not be read in this *sūtra* and the latter states that it need not be read in the next *sūtra* by splitting the *sūtra* into two and by taking *tatkṛta* in the sense of *tatkṛtēna*.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः (2, 1, 31)

पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसङ्ख्यानम् Addition of *avara* to *pūrvādi*.

पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यं, मासावरोऽयं, संवत्सरावरोऽयम्

The word *avara* should be added to the *pūrvādi* list. *Viz.* *Māsāvarōsyam* and *saṁvatsarāvarōsyam*.

सदृशग्रहण उक्तम्

This has been dealt with by *Vārttikakāra* with reference to the reading of *sadṛśa* in the *sūtra* *Sadṛśapratirūpayōḥ sādṛśyē* (6, 2, 11).

किमुक्तम्? How has it been dealt with?

सदृशग्रहणमनर्थकं तृतीयासमासवचनात्। षष्ठ्यर्थमिति चेत्तृतीयासमासवचनानर्थक्यम् इति

The word *sadṛśa* need not be read on account of the mention of *tṛtīyāsamāsa*. If it is said that it is intended for *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa*, it need not be read under *tṛtīyāsamāsa*.

NOTE:—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* reads under 6-2-11 thus:—*Pitrā sadṛśaḥ iti vigṛhya vākyam ēva*.

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (2, 3, 32)

कर्तृकरणे कृता क्तेन

The *sūtra* has to be read *Kartṛkaraṇē kṛtā ktēna*.

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कर्तृकरणे कृता क्तेन इति वक्तव्यम्, अहिहतः, नखनिर्भिन्नः, दात्रलूनं, परशुच्छिन्नम् ।

The *sūtra* must be read *Kartṛkaraṇē kṛtā ktēna* to secure only the forms *Ahihataḥ*, *nakhanirbhinnaḥ*, *dātralūnam* and *paraśucchinnam*.

कृता क्तेनेति किमर्थम्? Why should *ktēna* qualify *kṛtā*.

इह मा भूत् - दात्रेण लूनवान्, परशुना छिन्नवान्

So that *dātrēṇa* and *lūnavān* and *paraśunā* and *chinnavān* may not form compounds.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, must be read so.

न वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be read so,

बहुलवचनात्सिद्धम् It is got by reading *bahulam*.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने (2, 1, 33)

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचनेऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते

Anyatrāpi dṛśyatē is to be added to the *sūtra*.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने अन्यत्रापि दृश्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - बुसोपेन्ध्यं, तृणोपेन्ध्यं, घनघात्यम्

Anyatrāpi dṛśyatē is to be added to the *sūtra Kṛtyāir adhikārthavacanē* to secure the forms *busōpēndhyam* (it should be re-ignited with chaff), *tṛṇōpēndhyam* and *ghanaghātyam* (it is to be killed with an iron rod.

साधनं कृतेति वा पादहारकाद्यर्थम्

Or it may be read *Sādhanam kṛtā*, so that *pāda-hāraka* etc. may come within the range.

अथवा साधनं कृता समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम्

Or *Sādhanam kṛtā samasyatē* (word meaning *means* compound with *kṛdanta*) has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

पादहारकाद्यर्थम् - पादाभ्यां ह्रियते पादहारकः, गले चोप्यते गलेचोपकः

For the sake of *pādahāraka* etc.; *pādahārakaḥ* (one who is carried with feet); *galēcōpakaḥ* (one that is slowly devoured through gullet).

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अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् (2, 1, 34); भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् (2, 1, 35)

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनं भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् इत्यसमर्थसमासः, कारकाणां क्रियासमर्थत्वात्

Annēna vyañjanam and *Bhakṣyēna miśrīkaraṇam* enjoin *asamarthasamāsas*, since words with case-suffixes govern verbs alone.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनं भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् इत्यसमर्थसमासोऽयं द्रष्टव्यः

The *samāsas* enjoined by *Annēna vyañjanam* and *Bhakṣyēṇa miśrīkaraṇam* are to be considered *asamarthasamāsas.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

कारकाणां क्रियासमर्थत्वात् । कारकाणां क्रियया सामर्थ्यमस्ति, न तेषामन्योन्येन । तद्यथा निश्रयण्या द्वाभ्यां काष्ठाभ्यां सामर्थ्यं न तेषामन्योन्येन

Since words with case-suffixes have the capacity only to govern verbs. Words ending in case-suffixes are capable of governing verbs, but not each other. That the footsteps of a ladder are each connected with the side planks and not with each other is an illustration.

एवं तर्हि आह अयम् - अन्नेन व्यञ्जनं भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् इति, न चास्ति सामर्थ्यं, तत्र वचनात् समासो भविष्यति ।

When such is the case, *Sūtrakāra* reads *Annēna vyañjanam* and *Bhakṣyēṇa miśrīkaraṇam*. There is evidently no *sāmarthya* between them. There is *samāsa* in such cases on the authority of his injunction.

वचनप्रामाण्यादिति चेद् नानाकारकाणां प्रतिषेधः

If they form *samāsa* on account of *vacana-prāmāṇya*, there is need for the *pratiṣēdha* of those which govern different verbs.

वचनप्रामाण्यादिति चेन्नानाकारकाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - तिष्ठतु दध्ना, ओदनो देवदत्तेन भुज्यत इति

If it is said that they compound with each other, there is need to prohibit it if they govern different verbs, as in *Tiṣṭhatu dadhnā* and *ōdanō Dēvadattēna bhujyatē.*

सिद्धं तु समानाधिकरणाधिकारे क्तस्तृतीयापूर्वपद उत्तरपदलोपश्च

The object is achieved by mentioning in *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra* that *ktānta* is preceded by a noun in the third case and the *uttarapada* will be dropped.

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सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

समानाधिकरणाधिकारे वक्तव्यम् - क्तान्तः तृतीयापूर्वपदः समस्यते सुपा, उत्तरपदस्य च लोपो भवति इति । दध्ना उपसिक्तः दध्युपसिक्तः, दध्युपसिक्तः ओदनो दध्योदनः । गुडेन संसृष्टाः गुडसंसृष्टाः, गुडसंसृष्टा धानाः गुडधानाः
This has to be read in the *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra*—The past passive participle is preceded by a noun in the third case and forms a compound with another noun followed by a case-suffix, when the past passive participle is dropped. *Viz. Dadhnā* and *upasiktaḥ* compound into *dadhyupasiktaḥ* and *dadhyupasiktaḥ* and *ōdanaḥ* compound into *dadhyōdanaḥ*. *Guḍēna* and *saṁsṛṣṭāḥ* compound into *guḍasaṁsṛṣṭāḥ* and *guḍasaṁsṛṣṭāḥ* and *dhānāḥ* compound into *guḍadhānāḥ*.

षष्ठीसमासश्च युक्तपूर्णान्तः

Lōpa of *yukta* and *pūrṇa* of *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* when they compound with a noun.

षष्ठीसमासश्च युक्तपूर्णान्तः समस्यते, उत्तरपदस्य च लोपो वक्तव्यः - अश्वानां युक्तः अश्वयुक्तः, अश्वयुक्तो रथः अश्वरथः; दध्नः पूर्णः दधिपूर्णः, दधिपूर्णो घटः दधिघटः
Ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa ending in *yukta* or *pūrṇa* compound with the following noun and *yukta* and *pūrṇa* are dropped. *Viz. Aśvānām* and *yuktaḥ* compound into *aśvayuktaḥ* and *aśvayuktaḥ* and *rathaḥ* compound into *aśvarathaḥ*; *Dadhnaḥ* and *pūrṇaḥ* compound into *dadhipūrṇaḥ* and *dadhipūrṇaḥ* and *ghaṭaḥ* compound into *dadhigaṭaḥ*.

तर्हि इदं बहु वक्तव्यम्
Much, then, has to be supplemented here.

न वासमासेऽदर्शनात्

No, it need not be supplemented on account of its not being found in sentences.

न वा वक्तव्यम् No, it need not be supplemented.

किं कारणम्? Why?

असमासे अदर्शनात् - यद्धि असमासे दृश्यते, समासे च न दृश्यते तल्लोपारम्भं प्रयोजयति । न चासमासे उपसिक्तशब्दः, संसृष्टशब्दः, युक्तशब्दः, पूर्णशब्दो वा दृश्यते

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Since it is not found in *asamāsa* (i. e.) *vākya*. That which is present in *vākya* and is absent in *samāsa* becomes the *prayōjaka* for the mention of elision. None of the words—*upasikta*, *saṁsṛṣṭa*, *yukta* and *pūrṇa* is found in *vākya*.

कथं तर्हि सामर्थ्यं गम्यते ?

How is it, then, understood that there is *sāmarthya*.

युक्तार्थसम्प्रत्ययाच्च सामर्थ्यम्

There is *sāmarthya* on account of the *implication* of the meaning of *yukta*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *yukta* is *upalakṣaṇa* to *yōgyakriyā* to include *upasēka* etc.

दध्ना युक्तार्थता सम्प्रतीयते

The meaning of *yukta* is suggested through implication by the third case suffix in *dadhnā* ?

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते दध्ना युक्तार्थता सम्प्रतीयत इति ?

How is it understood that the meaning of *yukta* is suggested through implication by the third case suffix in *dadhnā* ?

सम्प्रत्ययाच्च तदर्थाध्यवसानम्

Comprehension of the meaning since it is current in the world.

सम्प्रत्ययाच्च तदर्थोऽध्यवसीयते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्

The meaning is comprehended from usage in the world and it should necessarily be so comprehended.

सम्प्रतीयमानार्थलोपे ह्यनवस्था [1]

There will be no finality if the *lōpa* of words conveying meanings which are otherwise comprehended is enjoined.

यो हि मन्यते सम्प्रतीयमानार्थानां शब्दानां लोपो भवतीति, अनवस्था तस्य लोपस्य स्यात् । दधि इत्युक्ते बहवोऽर्था गम्यन्ते - मन्दकम्, उत्तरकं, निलीनकम् इति; तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां लोपो वक्तव्यः स्यात् । तथा गुडः इत्युक्ते मधुरशब्दस्य, शृङ्गबेरमिति च कटुकशब्दस्य । अन्तरेणापि खलु शब्दप्रयोगं बहवोऽर्था गम्यन्ते अक्षिनिकोचैः पाणिविहारैश्च ; तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां लोपो वक्तव्यः स्यात् ॥

If one thinks that the *lōpa* must be enjoined of all the words having the meanings comprehended, there will be no finality

1. This is repeated in the *bhāṣya* in the Bombay Edition.

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to the injunction of the elision. At the mention of the word *dadhi* many ideas relating to it like *mandakam* (semi-solid condition), *uttarakam* (solid condition), *nilīnakam* (the condition of coagulated milk) come to the mind and one has to enjoin the elision of all the words conveying that meaning. At the mention of the word *guḍa* the *lōpa* of the word *madhura* which means sweetness has to be enjoined and at the mention of the word *śṛṅgavēra*, the *lōpa* of the word *kaṭu* which means pungency has to be enjoined. Besides many ideas come to our minds by another's winking of the eyes and movement of the hand and one will have to enjoin the elision of all the words which convey those ideas.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः (2, 1, 36)

A comparative review of this *sūtra* and the *vārttika Vikṛtiś caturthyantā prakṛtyā* tells us that the *Sūtrakāra* deals here with the *sūtra* of predecessors.

किं चतुर्थ्यन्तस्य तदर्थमात्रेण समासो भवति ?

Does a word in the fourth case compound with all those whose meaning is intended for that of the former ? [1]

एवं भवितुमर्हति Yes, it deserves to be so.

चतुर्थी तदर्थमात्रेण चेत् सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषात्

If it is said that *caturthyanta* compounds with *tadarthamātra*, there is chance for all on account of the absence of *viśēṣa*.

चतुर्थी तदर्थमात्रेण चेत् सर्वप्रसङ्गः - सर्वस्य चतुर्थ्यन्तस्य तदर्थमात्रेण सह समासः प्राप्नोति । अनेनापि समासः प्राप्नोति - रन्धनाय स्थाली, अवहननाय उलूखलम् इति

Caturthī tadarthamātrēṇa cēt sarvaprasaṅgaḥ:—There will be chance for *caturthyanta* to compound with all words which are *tadarthas*. Compound of *randhanāya* with *sthālī* (pot for cooking) and *avahananāya* with *ulūkhalam* (pestle for husking) will chance to set in.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

1. *Cf. Brāhmaṇārtham payaḥ, brāhmaṇārthaḥ sūpaḥ, brāhmaṇārthā yavāgūḥ.*

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अविशेषात् Since there is no discerning factor.

न हि कश्चिद्विशेष उपादीयते, एवंजातीयकस्य चतुर्थ्यन्तस्य तदर्थेन सह समासो भवति इति । अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे सर्वप्रसङ्गः

No discerning factor is stated to determine the particular *chaturthyanta* compounding with *tadartha*. If the discerning factor is not stated, there is chance for all without restriction.

बलिरक्षिताभ्यां चानर्थकं वचनम्

It is not necessary to read that it will compound with the words *bali* and *rakṣita*.

बलिरक्षिताभ्यां च समासवचनमनर्थकम् । यो हि महाराजाय बलिः स महाराजार्थो भवति ; तत्र तदर्थ इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

Injunction of *samāsa* with *bali* and *rakṣita* is not necessary. The *bali* for *mahārāja* is *mahārājārtha* ; and it is secured by *tadartha*.

यदि पुनर्विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृत्या सह समस्यते इत्येतल्लक्षणं क्रियते

Suppose, on the other hand, the *lakṣaṇa* is read *Vikṛtiś caturthyantā prakṛtyā saha samasyatē*.

विकृतिः प्रकृत्या इति चेद् अश्वघासादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम्

If it is read *Vikṛtiḥ prakṛtyā*, there is need to add *aśvaghāsa* etc.

विकृतिः प्रकृत्या इति चेद् अश्वघासादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - अश्वघासः, श्वश्रूसुरं, हस्तिविधा इति

If it is read *Vikṛtiḥ prakṛtyā*, there is need to add *aśvaghāsa* etc. :–*aśvaghāsa* (pasture for horses), *śvaśrūsuram* (water for mother-in-law) and *hastividhā* (food of elephant.) [1]

अर्थेन नित्यसमासवचनम् Need to enjoin *nityasamāsa* with *artha*.

अर्थशब्देन नित्यं समासो वक्तव्यः, ब्राह्मणार्थं क्षत्रियार्थम्

There is need to enjoin *nityasamāsa* with *artha*, as in *brāhmaṇārtham* and *kṣatriyārtham*.

किं विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृत्या सह समस्यते इत्यतोऽर्थेन नित्यसमासो वक्तव्यः ?

Does the necessity arise to read *arthēna nityasamāsaḥ*, on changing the *sūtra* into *Vikṛtiś caturthyantā prakṛtyā saha samasyatē* ?

1. There is no *prakṛtivikṛtibhāva* in these three cases.

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नेत्याह । सर्वथा अर्थेन नित्यसमासो वक्तव्यः

"No," says he. At all cost *nityasamāsa* has to be enjoined with *artha*.

[1] किं कारणम्? Why?

[2] विग्रहो मा भूद् इति So that there can be no *vigraha*.

सर्वलिङ्गता च Need to enjoin its use in all genders.

सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या, ब्राह्मणार्थं पयः, ब्राह्मणार्थः सूपः, ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः इति

There is need to read that it will be used in all genders as in *Brāhmaṇārtham payaḥ*, *brāhmaṇārthaḥ sūpaḥ* and *brāhmaṇārthā yavāgū*.

किमर्थेन नित्यसमास उच्यते इत्यतः सर्वलिङ्गता वक्तव्या?

Does the necessity arise to read *sarvaliṅgatā* because *nityasamāsa* is enjoined with reference to *artha*.

नेत्याह । सर्वथा सर्वलिङ्गता वक्तव्या

'No' says he. *Sarvaliṅgatā* has to be enjoined on any account.

किं कारणम्? Why?

यावता अर्थशब्दोऽयं पुँल्लिङ्गः, उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानश्च तत्पुरुषः, तेन पुँल्लिङ्गस्यैव समासस्य अभिधानं स्यात्, स्त्रीनपुंसकलिङ्गस्य न स्यात् ।

Since the word *artha* is masculine in gender and *tatpuruṣa* is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, *samāsārtha* in masculine gender alone will be expressed and not in feminine and neuter genders.

तत्तर्हि इदं बहु वक्तव्यम् - विकृतिः प्रकृत्या इति वक्तव्यम्, अश्वघासादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्, अर्थेन नित्यसमासो वक्तव्यः, सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ।

In that case much has to be read:—*Vikṛtiḥ prakṛtyā* is to be read; *Aśvaghāsādīnām upasaṅkhyānam* is to be read; *Arthēna nityasamāsaḥ* is to be read; and *Sarvaliṅgatā* is to be stated.

न वक्तव्यम् । यत्तावदुच्यते "विकृतिः प्रकृत्या इति वक्तव्यम्" इति, न वक्तव्यम्, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृत्या सह समस्यते इति, यदयं बलिरक्षितग्रहणं करोति ।

No, much need not be read. Firstly with reference to the statement *Vikṛtiḥ prakṛtyā iti vaktavyam*, it need not be read;

1 & 2. These two sentences are not found in certain editions.

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the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the *vikṛti-vācaka* in the fourth case compounds itself with *prakṛti-vācaka*, since he reads in the *sūtra bali* and *rakṣita*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How does it become the *jñāpaka*?

[1] यथाजातीयकानां समासे बलिरक्षितग्रहणेनार्थः तथाजातीयकानां समासः । यदि च विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृत्या सह समस्यते न तदर्थमात्रेण, ततो बलिरक्षितग्रहणमर्थवद्भवति ।

Such *samāsas* as will make the mention of *bali* and *rakṣita* fruitful are to be taken. If *tadartha* refers to *samāsas* between *vikṛti-vācaka* in the fourth case and *prakṛti-vācaka* alone and not to words in the fourth case and all that are *tadarthas*, the mention of *bali* and *rakṣita* is *arthavat*.

यदप्युच्यते अश्वघासादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यमिति, न कर्तव्यम्; अश्वघासादयः षष्ठीसमासा भविष्यन्ति; यद्धि यदर्थं भवत्ययमपि तत्राभिसम्बन्धो भवति, अस्य इदम् इति, तद्यथा गुरोरिदं गुर्वर्थमिति ।

The statement *Aśvaghāsādīnām upasaṅkhyānam kartavyam* need not be read. *Aśvaghāsa* etc. may be taken as *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsas*. That which is intended for another becomes related to it in the relation of *asya idam*, as *gurvartham* may be the compound of *gurōr idam*.

ननु च स्वरभेदो भवति - चतुर्थीसमासे सति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वेन भवितव्यं, षष्ठीसमासे सति पुनरन्तोदात्तत्वेन ।

Oh, there will be difference in *svara*. If it is taken as *caturthī-samāsa*, there is *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* and if it is taken as *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa*, there is *samāsāntōdāttatva*.

नास्ति भेदः । चतुर्थीसमासेऽपि सत्यन्तोदात्तत्वेनैव भवितव्यम्

There is no difference. Even if it is taken as *caturthīsamāsa*, there can be only *samāsāntōdāttatva*.

कथम्? How?

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृतिस्वरा भवति, न चतुर्थीमात्रमिति, यदयं चतुर्थी तदर्थे, अर्थे, क्ते च इति अर्थग्रहणं क्तग्रहणं च करोति ।

1. यथाजातीयकानाम् = विकृतिभिन्नवाचकानां चतुर्थ्यन्तानाम्

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The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that the *vikṛti-vācaka* alone in the fourth case when it compounds with *prakṛti-vācaka* takes *prakṛtisvara* and not all nouns in the fourth case, since he reads after *Caturthī tadarthē* (6, 2, 43) the *sūtras Arthē* and *Ktē ca*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? On what basis does it become *jñāpaka*?

यथाजातीयकानां प्रकृतिस्वरत्वेऽर्थग्रहणेन क्तग्रहणेन चार्थः तथाजातीयकानां प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । यदि च विकृतिश्चतुर्थ्यन्ता प्रकृत्या भवति न चतुर्थीमात्रं ततोऽर्थग्रहणं क्तग्रहणं चार्थवद्भवति ।

Prakṛtisvaratva is to those which, by taking it, will enable the reading of the *sūtras Arthē* and *Ktē ca* fruitful. If the *vikṛti-vācaka* in the fourth case compounds with *prakṛti-vācaka* and takes the *svara* of the latter and not all nouns in the fourth case, the mention of *Arthē* and *Ktē ca* will be fruitful.

यदप्युच्यते अर्थेन नित्यसमासो वक्तव्य इति, न वक्तव्यः । सर्थप्-प्रत्ययः करिष्यते

With reference to the statement *Arthēna nityasamāsō vaktavyaḥ*, it need not be read. The *pratyaya sarthap* will be enjoined after it.

किं कृतं भवति? What will be accomplished by it?

न चैव हि कदाचित् प्रत्ययेन विग्रहो भवति । अपि च सर्वलिङ्गता सिद्धा भवति

Nowhere is a *vigraha* made with a *pratyaya*. Besides the use in all genders is secured.

यदि सर्थप्प्रत्ययः क्रियते, इत्संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

If the *pratyaya sarthap* is enjoined, *it-saṁjñā* may not be secured.

अथापि कथञ्चिद् इत्संज्ञा स्याद्, एवमपि श्र्यर्थं, भ्र्वर्थम् - अङ्गस्य इति इयङुवङौ स्याताम्

If, however, *it-saṁjñā* is secured with difficulty, *iyaṅ-ādēśa* and *uvaṅ-ādēśa* will appear in *śryartham* and *bhrvartham* through *aṅgādhikāra*.

एवं तर्हि बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति

Let it then be *bahuvrīhi-samāsa* of the form *brāhmaṇaḥ arthaḥ* (*prayōjanam*) *asya*.

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किं कृतं भवति? What is achieved by it?

भवति वै कश्चिद् अस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहिः । तद्यथा - शोभनं मुखमस्याः सुमुखी इति

It comes under the class of *asvapada-bahuvrīhi* as *sumukhī* whose *vigraha-vākya* is *śōbhanam mukham asyāḥ*.

नैवं शक्यम् । इह हि महदर्थमिति आत्त्वकपौ प्रसज्येयाताम्

This is not possible; for there is chance for *āttva* and *kap* to appear in *mahadartham*.

NOTE:—*Āttva* is by *Ān mahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayōḥ* (6, 3, 46) and optional *kap* is by *Śēṣād vibhāṣā* (5, 4, 154).

एवं तर्हि तदर्थस्योत्तरपदस्यार्थशब्द आदेशः करिष्यते

If so, *artha* is enjoined to be the *ādēśa* of the following word which is *tadartha*.

किं कृतं भवति? What is achieved by it?

न चैव हि कदाचिद् आदेशेन विग्रहो भवति । अपि च सर्वलिङ्गता सिद्धा भवति ।

Nowhere is *vigraha* done with *ādēśa*. Besides *sarvaliṅgatā* becomes an accomplished fact.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, has to be stated.

न वक्तव्यम् । योगविभागः करिष्यते - चतुर्थी, चतुर्थी सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते; ततः तदर्थार्थ...., तदर्थस्य चोत्तरपदस्य अर्थशब्द आदेशो भवति ।

No, it need not be stated. The *sūtra* is split into two. Firstly *Caturthī*, which means that word in the fourth case compounds with noun. Next is taken *Tadarthārtha...*, which means that *artha* becomes the *ādēśa* of the *uttarapada* which is *tadartha*.

इहापि तर्हि समासः प्राप्नोति छात्राय रुचितं, छात्राय स्वदितम् इति

If so, (i. e. if *caturthī* is read as a separate *sūtra*) *chātrāya rucitam* and *chātrāya svaditam* also may form into compounds.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - तादर्थ्ये या चतुर्थी सा समस्यते, न चतुर्थीमात्रमिति, यदयं हितसुखग्रहणं करोति

The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *samāsa* takes place only when the *caturthī* means *tādarthya* and not with all *caturthīs*, since he reads here *hita* and *sukha*.

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कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? On what basis do they become *jñāpaka*?

यथाजातीयकानां समासे हितसुखग्रहणेणार्थः तथाजातीयकानां समासः । यदि च तादर्थ्ये या चतुर्थी सा समस्यते न चतुर्थीमात्रं, ततो हितसुखग्रहणमर्थवद्भवति ।
Such *samāsas* as will help the mention of *hita* and *sukha* fruitful are to be taken. If the word having *caturthī* in the sense of *tādarthya* compounds with what follows and not word having all *caturthīs,* the mention of *hita* and *sukha* will be *sārthaka.*

इहापि तर्हि तदर्थस्योत्तरपदस्यार्थशब्द आदेशः प्राप्नोति यूपाय दारु यूपदारु
If so, the *uttarapada* of *tadartha* will be replaced by *artha* here too - *yūpāya dāru* = *yūpadāru.*

वा च विधास्यते It will be taken to be optional.

इहापि तर्हि विभाषा प्राप्नोति ब्राह्मणार्थं, क्षत्रियार्थम्
If so, option may chance to take within its range cases like *brāhmaṇārtham* and *kṣatriyārtham.*

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, प्रकृतिविकृत्योः यः समासः तत्र तदर्थस्योत्तरपदस्य वा अर्थशब्द आदेशो भवति, अन्यत्र नित्य इति, यदयं बलिरक्षितग्रहणं करोति
If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that the *ādēśa* of *artha* is optional where there is *samāsa* between *prakṛti-vācaka* and *vikṛti-vācaka* and *nitya* in other cases, since he reads *bali* and *rakṣita* in the *sūtra.*

एवं तर्हि उदकार्थो वीवधः, स्थानिवद्भावाद् उदभावः प्राप्नोति ; तस्मान्नैवं शक्यम्
If so, *udaka* in *udakārtha* of *udakārthō vīvadhaḥ* (Pole to carry water) will be changed to *uda* by *sthānivadbhāva.* Hence it is not possible.

न चेदेवम्, अर्थेन नित्यसमासो वक्तव्यः, सर्वलिङ्गता च
If it is not thus possible, it is necessary to enjoin *Arthēna nityasamāsaḥ* and *Sarvaliṅgatā ca.*

नैष दोषः । इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः, अथेह ब्राह्मणेभ्यः इति कैषा चतुर्थी
This difficulty does not arise. He must be put this question, "What *caturthī* is here in *brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*?"

तादर्थ्य इत्याह "*Tādarthyē,*" says he.

यदि तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी अर्थशब्दस्य प्रयोगेण न भवितव्यम् उक्तार्थानामप्रयोग इति

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If it is *tādarthyē caturthī*, the word *artha* need not be used, on the dictum *Uktārthānām aprayōgaḥ*.

समासोऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति *Samāsa*, too, has then no chance.

वचनात् समासो भविष्यति *Samāsa* takes place thro' *vacana*.

यदप्युच्यते सर्वलिङ्गता वक्तव्या इति, न वक्तव्या, लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वा-लिङ्गस्य

That *sarvaliṅgatā* too should be enjoined is not needed. Injunction of gender is unnecessary as it follows the world.

पञ्चमी भयेन (2, 1, 37)

अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते पञ्चमी भयेन इति

The *sūtra Pañcamī bhayēna* is not all comprehensive.

भयभीतभीतिभीभिः

Bhayēna should be replaced by *bhaya-bhīta-bhīti-bhībhiḥ*.

भयभीतभीतिभीभिरिति वक्तव्यम् - वृकाद् भयं = वृकभयम्; वृकाद् भीतः = वृकभीतः; वृकाद् भीतिः = वृकभीतिः; वृकाद् भीः = वृकभीः इति

Bhaya-bhīta-bhīti-bhībhiḥ should be read (in place of *bhayēna*), so that the following *samāsas* can be secured:-*Vṛkād bhayam*= *vṛka-bhayam*; *vṛkād bhītaḥ*=*vṛkabhītaḥ*; *vṛkād bhītiḥ*=*vṛka-bhītiḥ*; and *vṛkād bhīḥ*=*vṛkabhīḥ*.

अपर आह Another says.

भयनिर्गतजुगुप्सुभिः

Bhaya-nirgata-jugupsubhiḥ should replace *bhayēna*.

भयनिर्गतजुगुप्सुभिरिति वक्तव्यम् - वृकभयं, ग्रामनिर्गतः, अधर्मजुगुप्सुः

Bhaya-nirgata-jugupsubhiḥ should replace *bhayēna* to secure *vṛka-bhayam*, *grāma-nirgataḥ* and *adharma-jugupsuḥ*.

NOTE:—The word *aparaḥ* refers to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

सप्तमी शौण्डैः (2, 1, 39)

शौण्डादिभिः *Śauṇḍādibhiḥ* should replace *śauṇḍaiḥ*.

शौण्डादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम् - इहापि यथा स्यात् - अक्षधूर्तः, स्त्रीधूर्तः, अक्षकितवः, स्त्रीकितव इति

Śauṇḍādibhiḥ should replace *śauṇḍaiḥ*, to secure *akṣadhūrtaḥ*, *strīdhūrtaḥ*, *akṣakitavaḥ* and *strīkitavaḥ*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must then be so read.

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न वक्तव्यम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात् शौण्डादिभिरिति विज्ञास्यते ।
No, it need not be read. *Śauṇḍaiḥ* will be taken to mean *śauṇḍādibhiḥ* through the plural suffix in it.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे (2, 1, 42)

ध्वाङ्क्षेणेत्यर्थग्रहणम् *Dhvāṅkṣārthēna* should replace *dhvāṅkṣēṇa.*

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे अर्थग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् तीर्थकाक इति
Dhvāṅkṣārthēna kṣēpē should be read to secure *tīrthakākaḥ.*

क्षेप इत्युच्यते, क इह क्षेपो नाम?
The word *kṣēpa* is read here. What does *kṣēpa* mean?

यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति एवं यो गुरुकुलानि गत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति
He who goes to a number of teachers without steadily pursuing his studies like crows which do not stay long at holy ghats is called *tīrthakāka.*

कृत्यैर्ऋणे (2, 1, 43)

कृत्यैर्नियोगे यद्ग्रहणञ्च
The *sūtra* has to be read *Kṛtyāir niyōgē yadgrahaṇañ ca.*

कृत्यैर्नियोगे यत्प्रत्यये च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् पूर्वाह्णेगेयं साम, प्रातरध्येयोऽनुवाकः इति ।
Ṛṇē should be replaced by *niyōgē* and *kṛtyāiḥ* should be restricted to the *pratyaya yat,* so that the *sūtra* may operate here also, in *Pūrvāhṇēgēyam sāma* and *Prātar adhyēyōsnuvākaḥ.*

[1] तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, should be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । ऋण इत्येव सिद्धम्; इह यद्यस्य नियोगतः कार्यम्, ऋणं तस्य तद् भवति, तत्र ऋण इत्येव सिद्धम्
No, it need be read. Its purpose is served by the word *ṛṇa* itself. That which one has to do through injunction is his *ṛṇa* [2] and the purpose is served by the word *ṛṇa* itself.

यद्ग्रहणं च कर्तव्यम्, इह मा भूत् पूर्वाह्णे दातव्या भिक्षा इति
Yat-pratyaya, on the other hand, has to be to prevent *samāsa* in *Pūrvāhṇē dātavyā bhikṣā.*

1. Here *tat* refers to only *niyōgē.*
2. *Ṛṇa* has the derivative sense :—that which should go from one.

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क्षेपे (2, 1, 47)

किमुदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa*?

अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत्

This is your *avataptē-nakula-sthitam.* (inconstancy)

क्षेप इत्युच्यते, क इह क्षेपो नाम?

The word *kṣēpē* is read here. What is *kṣēpa* here?

यथा अवतप्ते नकुलाः न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति, एवं कार्याण्यारभ्य यो न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते - अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतद् इति

He, who is not constantly pursuing the work he has undertaken like the mungooses which do not stay long in heated places is said thus :—*Avataptē-nakula-sthitam tē ētat.*

क्षेपे सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यत इत्युच्यते, तत्र ते सगतिकेन सनकुलेन च समासो न प्राप्नोति

It is said that a noun in the seventh case compounds with *ktānta* when *kṣēpa* is suggested. Hence there cannot be *samāsa* with *ktānta* preceded by *nakula* and *taptē* preceded by *ava* which has *gati-samjñā.*

क्षेपे सगतिकसकारकसमासे उक्तम्

It has been said with reference to *sagatika-sakāraka-samāsa* when *kṣēpa* is suggested.

किमुक्तम्? What has been said?

कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि इति

Reading of *kṛt* takes with it *gati-kāraka-pūrvaka - kṛt* also.

पात्रेसमितादयश्च (2, 1, 48)

किमर्थश्चकारः? What does *ca* mean?

एवकारार्थः पात्रेसमितादय एव

It means *ēva.* The *sūtra* means *pātrēsamitādaya ēva.*

क्व मा भूत्? Where should it not be?

परमं पात्रे समिता इति In *paramam pātrē samitā.*

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन (2, 1, 49)

इह कस्माद् अव्ययीभावो न भवति - एका नदी एकनदी । नदीभिः सङ्ख्या इति प्राप्नोति

Why is not *avyayībhāva* found here in *ēkanadī,* the compound of *ēkā* and *nadī,* though *Nadībhiś ca (saṅkhyā)* sanctions it.

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नैष दोषः । इह कश्चित् समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् अन्यपदार्थप्रधानः, कश्चिद् उभयपदार्थप्रधानः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावः, उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः, अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः, उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः । न चात्र पूर्वपदार्थप्राधान्यं गम्यते ।

This difficulty does not arise. In literature one compound is *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*, one is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, one is *anyapadārthapradhāna* and one is *ubhayapadārthapradhāna*. *Avyayībhāva* is *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*, *tatpuruṣa* is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, *bahuvrīhi* is *anyapadārthapradhāna* and *dvandva* is *ubhayapadārthapradhāna*. *Pūrvapadārthaprādhānya* is not suggested here.

अथ वा अव्ययीभावः क्रियतां, तत्पुरुषो वा इति, तत्पुरुषो भविष्यति विप्रतिषेधेन

Or when the choice is between *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa*, the latter sets in through *Vipratiṣēdhaśāstra*.

भवेदेकसंज्ञाधिकारे सिद्धं, परंकार्यत्वे तु न सिध्यति, आरम्भसामर्थ्याच्च अव्ययीभावः प्राप्नोति, परंकार्यत्वाच्च तत्पुरुषः प्राप्नोति ।

The object is achieved thro' *Ākaḍārād ēkā saṁjñā*, but not thro' *Prāk kaḍārāt param kāryam*. There is chance for *avyayībhāva* thro' *ārambha-sāmarthya* and for *bahuvrīhi* thro' *paraṅkāryatva*.

परङ्कार्यत्वे च न दोषः There is no harm even in *paraṅkāryatva*.

कथम्? How?

नदीभिः समाहारेऽव्ययीभावो वक्तव्यः

Avyayībhāva is to be enjoined when there is *samāhāra* between a word denoting number and the names of rivers.

स चावश्यं वक्तव्यः - सर्वमेकनदीतरे

It must necessarily be enjoined to secure *ēkanadītarē* in *sarvam ēkanadītarē*.

TWENTIETH ĀHNIKA ENDS

(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, second *āhnika* ends)

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Twentyfirst Āhnika

(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, third *āhnika*)

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च (2, 1, 51)

There are *six* topics here:—(1) Is the word *samāhāra karmasādhana* or *bhāvasādhana*? (2) Which, of the following *sūtras*, is best:—*Pratyayōttarapadayōḥ*, *Taddhitārthōttarapadasamāhārē ca* and *Samāsataddhitavidhāu*? (3) Is the word *samāhārē* in the *sūtra* necessary? (4) There is need to admit that, in a *bahuvrīhi* containing three words, the *dvandva* or the *tatpuruṣa* of the first two words is *nitya*. (5) There is need to admit that *dvigu* compounds with the following word if it is *parimāṇivācaka*. (6) There is need to prohibit *dvigu-saṁjñā* if there is *matvartha*.

I

समाहार इति कोऽयं शब्दः?

What is this word - *samāhāra* (i.e.) what is its derivation?

समाङ्पूर्वात् हरतेः कर्मसाधनो घञ् - समाह्रियते समाहार इति

Samāhāra comes from the root *hṛ* with the prepositions *sam* and *ā* by suffixing the *pratyaya a* (*ghañ*) denoting *karmatva* and hence its derivation is *samāhriyatē iti*.

यदि कर्मसाधनः, पञ्च कुमार्यः समाहृताः पञ्चकुमारि, दशकुमारि, गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य इति ह्रस्वत्वं न प्राप्नोति, द्विगुरेकवचनम् इत्येतच्च वक्तव्यम्

If *ghañ* denotes *karmatva*, the forms *pañca-kumāri* (the *samāsa* of *pañca kumāryaḥ samāhṛtāḥ*) and *daśa-kumāri* with a short *i* by *Gōstriyōr-upasarjanasya* (1, 2, 48) are not possible and so *Dvigur-ēkavacanam* (2, 4, 1) must remain (which is considered unnecessary by *Vārttikakāra*).

NOTE:—*I* will be shortened only if *kumarī* is *upasarjana*; but its *artha* is *pradhāna* here.

एवं तर्हि भावसाधनो भविष्यति, समाहरणं समाहारः

If so, *ghañ* is taken to denote *bhāvārtha*, so that *samāhāra* means *samāharaṇam*.

अथ भावसाधने सति किमभिधीयते?

If it is *bhāvasādhana*, what is its connotation?

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यत्तदौत्तराधर्यम् Piling (as in *pañcapūli* - group of five cakes).

कः पुनर्गवां समाहारः? What, is then the *samāhāra* of cows?

यत्तदर्जनं क्रयणं भिक्षणमपहरणं वा

It means the state of grouping in the mind one after another whether to earn, buy, beg or take away.

NOTE :—*Arjana* etc. means *arjananimitta* etc. by *lakṣaṇā*.

यद्येवं विक्षिप्तेषु पूलेषु, गोषु चरन्तीषु न सिध्यति

If so, such a grouping does not exist when bundles are scattered or cows are straying.

एवं तर्हि समभ्याशीकरणं समाहारः

Samāhāra means then bringing together.

एवमपि पञ्चग्रामी षण्णगरी त्रिपुरी इति न सिध्यति

If so, the words *pañca-grāmī*, *ṣaṇ-ṇagarī* and *tripurī* cannot be secured.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सम् एकत्ववाची, आङ् आभिमुख्ये वर्तते, हरतिः देशान्तरप्रापणे

The *upasarga sam* denotes *group*, the *upasarga ā* denotes *the state of being in front of* and the root *hṛ* means *to take away from one place to another.*

नावश्यं हरतिर्देशान्तरप्रापण एव वर्तते

The root *hṛ* is not invariably used only in the sense of taking away from one place to another.

किं तर्हि? In what other sense then?

सादृश्येऽपि वर्तते । तद्यथा, मातुरनुहरति पितुरनुहरति इति

It means also to resemble. *Cf. Mātur anuharati* and *pitur anuharati.*

अथवा पञ्चग्रामी षण्णगरी त्रिपुरी इति, नैवेदमियत्येव अवतिष्ठते । अवश्यमसौ ततः किञ्चिद् आकाङ्क्षति, क्रियां गुणं वा । यदाकाङ्क्षति तदेकं, स च समाहारः ।

Or the words *pañcagrāmī*, *ṣaṇṇagarī* and *tripurī* alone are not used and they need something else, action or quality to give them sense. It is one and it may be called *samāhāra* (being *samāhāranimitta*).

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अयं तर्हि भावसाधने सति दोषः - पञ्चपूल्यानीयताम् इति भावानयने चोदिते द्रव्यानयनं न प्राप्नोति ।

If *ghañ* in *samāhāra* means *bhāva*, the sentence *Pañcapūlyānīyatām* cannot refer to *dravyānayana* desired by the speaker, since it expresses *bhāvānayana*.

नैष दोषः । इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः, "अथेह गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीयः इति कथमाकृतौ चोदितायां द्रव्ये आरम्भणालम्भनप्रोक्षणविशसनानि क्रियन्ते? इति"

This difficulty does not arise. He is to be put this question :— When *genus* is enjoined in *Gāur anubandhyaḥ* and *Ajaḥ agnīṣōmīyaḥ*, why are *ārambhaṇa* (seizing), *ālambhana* (tying to the stake), *prōkṣaṇa* (sprinkling of water) and *viśasana* (killing) done to the individuality ?

असम्भवात् - आकृतौ आरम्भणादीनां सम्भवो नास्तीति कृत्वा आकृतिसहचरिते द्रव्ये आरम्भणादीनि क्रियन्ते

On account of *asambhava*. Since it is not possible to do *ārambhaṇa* etc. in the genus, *ārambhaṇa* etc. are done to the individuality coexisting with it.

इदमप्येवंजातीयकमेव । असम्भवाद् भावानयनस्य द्रव्यानयनं भविष्यति

This too is of the same nature. The *dravya* is brought, since it is not possible to bring *bhāva*.

अथ वा अव्यतिरेकाद् द्रव्याकृत्योः

Or on account of the inseparability of genus and individuality.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, in the first case, *dravya* is *upāya* for *ākṛti* to take action and in the second case there is no *vāstavabhēda* between them.

II

किं पुनर्द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्भवति?

Is *dvigu-saṁjñā* enjoined when *pratyaya* and *uttarapada* follow?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *Pratyayōttarapadayōḥ* is *Ācārya Kāśakṛtsnaś sūtra* and it is discussed here to show why *Ācārya Pāṇini* has read this *sūtra* in preference to it.

एवं भवितुमर्हति Let it be so.

द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेद् इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

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If it has *dvigu-saṁjñā* when *pratyaya* and *uttarapada* follow, there will be no chance for the formation of the word on account of interdependence.

द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेद् इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

If it has *dvigu-saṁjñā* when *pratyaya* and *uttarapada* follow, the desired forms cannot be secured on account of *anyōnyāśrayatva*.

का इतरेतराश्रयता? Of what nature is *anyōnyāśrayatva*?

द्विगुसंज्ञानिमित्ते प्रत्ययोत्तरपदे; प्रत्ययोत्तरपदनिमित्ता च द्विगुसंज्ञा । तदेतद् इतरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

Pratyaya and *uttarapada* set in on account of *dvigu-saṁjñā* and *dvigu-saṁjñā* is secured when there are *pratyaya* and *uttarapada*. This is the nature of interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent do not bear fruit.

एवं तर्हि अर्थे इति वक्ष्यामि I shall then read *taddhitārthē*.

NOTE:—This starts the discussion of *Pāṇini's sūtra*.

अर्थे चेत्, तद्धितानुत्पत्तिः, बहुव्रीहिवत्

If *taddhitārthē* is read, there is no chance for *taddhitapratyaya* to appear, as in *bahuvrīhi*.

अर्थे चेत् तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति, द्वैमातुरः[1], त्रैमातुरः[2], पाञ्चनापितिः[3]

If *taddhitārthē* is read, there is no chance for *taddhitapratyaya* to appear in the words *Dvāimāturaḥ*, *Trāimāturaḥ* and *Pāñcanāpitiḥ*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

द्विगुना उक्तत्वात्, बहुव्रीहिवत् । तद्यथा चित्रगुः शबलगुः इति - बहुव्रीहिणा उक्तत्वान्मत्वर्थस्य मत्वर्थीयो न भवति ।

Since its sense is conveyed by *dvigu*, in *bahuvrīhi*. Since *matvartha* is conveyed by *bahuvrīhi*, *matvartha-pratyaya* is not used in *Citraguḥ* and *Śabalaguḥ*.

एवं तर्हि समासतद्धितविधौ इति वक्ष्यामि

If so, I shall read *Samāsataddhitavidhāu* in their place.

1. Name of *Gaṇēśa* or *Jarāsandha*.
2. Name of *Lakṣmaṇa*.
3. Perhaps it means one shaved by five barbers.

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NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that it means that *dik* and *saṅkhyā* compound with *sup* when *samāsa* and *taddhita* are enjoined.

समासतद्धितविधाविति चेदन्यत्र समाससंज्ञाभावः

If it is read *Samāsataddhitavidhāu,* there is no chance for the *samāsasaṁjñā* elsewhere.

समासतद्धितविधाविति चेदन्यत्र समाससंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

If it is read *Samāsataddhitavidhāu,* there is no chance for *samāsa-saṁjñā* elsewhere.

क्वान्यत्र? To which does *anyat* refer?

स्वरे - पञ्चारत्निः, दशारत्निः, इगन्ते द्विगौ इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति

Anyat refers to *svara.* For instance the *pūrvapadaprakṛti-svaratva* in *pañcāratniḥ* and *daśāratniḥ* by *Iganta...dvigāu* (6, 2, 29) will not appear.

सिद्धं तु प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेति वचनात्

The object is achieved by reading *Pratyayōttarapadayōś ca.*

सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेति वचनात् - प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोर्द्विगुसंज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

By reading *Pratyayōttarapadayōś ca. Dvigusaṁjñā* must be enjoined when *pratyaya* and *uttarapada* follow.

ननु चोक्तं द्विगुसंज्ञा प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्चेद् इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः इति ।

Oh, it was said that, if *dvigusaṁjñā* is enjoined when *pratyaya* and *uttarapada* follow, there would be no *kārya* on account of *anyōnyāśrayatva.*

नैष दोषः । इतरेतराश्रयमात्रमेतच्चोदितम् । सर्वाणि चेतरेतराश्रयाण्येकत्वेन परिहृतानि, सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वाद् इति ।

This difficulty does not arise. *Anyōnyāśrayatva* alone was noted as the defect. All *anyōnyāśrayas* have been met in the same way thro' *Siddham tu nityaśabdatvāt.*

नेदं तुल्यमन्यैरितरेतराश्रयैः, न हि संज्ञा नित्या

This is not like other *itarētarāśrayas* ; for *saṁjñā* is not *nitya.*

एवं तर्हि भाविनी संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते । तद्यथा कश्चित् कञ्चित् तन्तुवायमाह - अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय इति । स पश्यति, यदि शाटको न वातव्यः, अथ

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वातव्यो न शाटकः, [1] शाटको वातव्यश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धं भवति । भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञा अभिप्रेता । स मन्ये वातव्यः यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद् भवति । एवमिहापि तस्मिन् द्विगुर्भवति यस्याभिनिर्वृत्तस्य प्रत्यय उत्तरपदमिति चैते संज्ञे भविष्यतः

If so, the *saṁñjā to come* will be taken into account. This may be illustrated thus:-One says to a weaver, "Weave a cloth of this thread." He thinks within himself, "If it is already a cloth, it need not be woven; if it is to be woven, it is not a cloth; hence the sentence cloth is to be woven consists of words which contradict each other." He then decides that he has made use of a *saṁjñā* which is to come after the thread is woven. Similarly here too the *bhāvinī saṁjñās—pratyaya* and *uttarapada* - follow *dvigu*.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु अर्थे इति Or let it be again *taddhitārthē*.

ननु चोक्तम् अर्थे चेत् तद्धितानुत्पत्तिर्बहुव्रीहिवद् इति

Oh, it was said that if *taddhitārthē* is read, *taddhitapratyaya* may not appear as in *bahuvrīhi*.

नैष दोषः । नावश्यमर्थशब्दोऽभिधेय एव वर्तते

This difficulty does not arise. The word *artha* is not invariably used to denote *abhidhēya*.

किं तर्हि ? What else then ?

स्यादर्थेऽपि वर्तते । तद्यथा - दारार्थं घटामहे, धनार्थं भिक्षामहे, दाराः नः स्युः, धनानि न स्युः इति

It is used in the sense of *may happen*. For instance the sentences *Dārārtham ghaṭāmahē* and *Dhanārtham bhikṣāmahē* are used in the sense - we negotiate so that we may get wives and we beg so that we may get money.

एवमिहापि तद्धितार्थे द्विगुर्भवति इति, तद्धितः स्यादिति

So also here *taddhitārthē* in *taddhitārthē dvigur bhavati* means *taddhitaḥ syāt*.

द्विगोर्वा लुग्वचनं ज्ञापकं तद्धितोत्पत्तेः

Or the injunction of *luk* of that which is the *nimitta* of *dvigu* is a *jñāpaka* for *taddhitōtpatti*.

1. वातव्यः शाटकश्चेति is another reading.

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अथ वा यदयं द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति द्विगोरुत्तरस्य तद्धितस्य लुकं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः उत्पद्यते द्विगोस्तद्धितः इति

Or, since *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) enjoins the *luk* of *taddhita* which is the *nimitta* of *dvigu* in *Dvigōr lug anapatyatē* (4, 1, 88), he suggests that *taddhita* appears after *dvigu*.

III

समाहारसमूहयोरविशेषात् समाहारग्रहणानर्थक्यं तद्धितार्थेन कृतत्वात्

Samāhārē need not be read, since *samāhāra* and *samūha* are synonyms and *samūhārtha* is secured by *taddhitārthē*.

समाहारः समूह इत्यविशिष्टावेतावर्थौ । समाहारसमूहयोः अविशेषात् समाहारग्रहणमनर्थकम्

The words *samāhāra* and *samūha* have the same meaning. Since they are synonyms, *samāhārē* need not be read.

किं कारणम्? How?

तद्धितार्थेन कृतत्वात् - तद्धितार्थे द्विगुः इत्येवमत्र द्विगुर्भविष्यति

Since its purpose is served by *taddhitārthē*. *Dvigu* will set in even when the *sūtra* is read *Taddhitārthē dviguḥ*.

यदि तद्धितार्थे द्विगुः इत्येवमत्र द्विगुर्भविष्यति, तद्धितोत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति

If the *sūtra* is read, *Taddhitārthē dviguḥ* there is chance for *taddhitapratyaya* to appear.

उत्पद्यतां, लुग्भविष्यति Let it appear; it will be elided.

लुक्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति The effects of *luk* will be there.

कानि? What are they?

पञ्चपूली, दशपूली - अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बलेभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । पञ्चगवं, दशगवं - गोरतद्धितलुकि इति टच् न प्राप्नोति ।

There will be no *ṅīp* in *pañcapūlī* and *daśapūlī* if there is the elision of *taddhita* by *Aparimāṇa-bistācita-kambalēbhyō na taddhitaluki* (4, 1, 22) and there will be no *ṭac* in *pañcagavam* and *daśagavam* if *taddhita* elides by *Gōr ataddhitaluki* (5, 4, 92).

नैष दोषः । अविशेषेण द्विगोर्ङीब्भवति इत्युक्त्वा अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यः समाहारे इति वक्ष्यामि, तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति समाहारे एव नान्यत्र इति । गोरकारः, द्विगोः समाहारे - अविशेषेण गोष्टज् भवति इत्युक्त्वा द्विगोस्समाहारे इति वक्ष्यामि, तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति, समाहार एव नान्यत्र इति

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This difficulty will not arise. *Dvigōḥ* is read as a general *sūtra*, by which *dvigu* takes *ṅīp* without any restriction and then the *sūtra* is modified into *Aparimāṇa-bistācita-kambalyēbhyaḥ samāhārē*, so that it will serve as a *niyama-sūtra* restricting the application only when there is *samāhāra* and nowhere else. Similarly *Gōḥ* is read as the general *sūtra* and then *Dvigōḥ samāhārē* is read. The former means that *ṭac* comes after *gō* without any restriction. Then *Dvigōḥ samāhārē* serves as a *niyama-sūtra* restricting the application only when there is *samāhāra* and nowhere else.

अभिधानार्थं तु For *samāhāra* to be *vācya*.

अभिधानार्थं तु समाहारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, समाहारेण अभिधानं यथा स्यात्, तद्धितार्थेन मा भूद् इति ।

The word *samāhāra* is to be read in the *sūtra* so that it may be *vācya* and so that it may not be suggested by *taddhitārtha*.

किं च स्यात् What if it is suggested by *taddhitārtha* ?

तद्धितोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्येत *Taddhita* may appear.

उत्पद्यताम् । लुग् भविष्यति Let it appear. It will be elided.

लुक्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति

There is chance for the effects of *luk* to remain.

सर्वाणि परिहृतानि All those have been met.

न सर्वाणि परिहृतानि । पञ्चकुमारि, दशकुमारि, लुक् तद्धितलुकि इति ङीपो लुक् प्रसज्येत

All have not been met. There will be chance for the elision of *ṅīp* in *pañcakumāri* and *daśakumāri* on the strength of the *sūtra Luk taddhitaluki* (4, 2, 49).

IV

द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम्

If *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* are followed by another word, the *nityatva* of the former is to be enjoined.

द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासो वक्तव्यः, वाग्दृषदप्रियः, छत्रोपानहप्रियः, पञ्चगवप्रियः, दशगवप्रियः

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If *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* are followed by another word (to form a *tri-pada-bahuvrīhi*) as in *vāg-dṛṣada-priyah*, *chatrōpā-nahapriyaḥ*, *pañca-gava-priyaḥ* and *daśagava-priyaḥ* the *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* must be enjoined *nitya*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

समुदायवृत्तौ अवयवानां मा कदाचिदवृत्तिर्भूद् इति ।

So that when there is *vṛtti* for the *samudāya* (whole), the *avayava* (part) should not be rid of *vṛtti* under any circumstances.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must then be enjoined.

न वक्तव्यम् । इह द्वौ पक्षौ वृत्तिपक्षश्च अवृत्तिपक्षश्च । यदा वृत्तिपक्षः तदा सर्वेषामेव वृत्तिः, यदा अवृत्तिः पक्षः तदा सर्वेषामवृत्तिः

No, it need not be enjoined. There are two *pakṣas* here:– *vṛttipakṣa* and *avṛttipakṣa*. If *vṛtti-pakṣa* is resorted to, it should be adopted throughout and if *avṛtti-pakṣa* is resorted to, it, too, should be adopted throughout.

NOTE:—*Vṛtti* refers to *ēkārthībhāvasāmarthya* and *avṛtti* to *vyapēkṣālakṣaṇasāmarthya*.

V

उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः समासवचनम्

Need to enjoin that *dvigu-samāsa* appears with *parimāṇi-vācaka-pada* following it (to form *tatpuruṣa-samāsa.*)

उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः समासो वक्तव्यः - द्वौ मासौ जातस्य यस्य सः द्विमासजातः, त्रिमासजातः

It must be enjoined that *dvigu-samāsa* appears with *parimāṇi-vācaka-pada* following it, as in *dvi-māsa-jātaḥ* and *trimāsa-jātaḥ*, where the former is explained thus :–*dvāu māsāu jātasya yasya saḥ*.

NOTE:—In *dvi-māsa-jātaḥ*, *māsaḥ* is *parimāṇavācakapada* and *jātaḥ* is *parimāṇivācakapada*. In the expressison *dvāu māsāu jātasya yasya saḥ*, *yasya saḥ* is added to show that there is *prādhānya* to *jātasya* in the *vṛtti* even though it is in the sixth case. Hence *vigrahavākya* is only *dvāu māsāu jātasya*. Then the whole compound is *tri-pada-tatpuruṣa*.

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किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why could it not appear ?

सुप् सुपेति वर्तते

There is *anuvṛtti* for *sup supā*, by which it is clear that only one *subanta* can compound with another *subanta*.

एवं तर्हीदं स्यात् द्वौ मासौ द्विमासं, द्विमासं जातस्य इति

If so, let the compound be formed this way:—*dvāu* and *māsāu* compound into *dvimāsam* (*samāhāra-dvandva*) and then *dvimāsam* and *jātasya* compound into *dvimāsa-jātaḥ*.

नैवं शक्यम् । स्वरे हि दोषः स्यात् द्विमासजातः इतिं प्राप्नोति ; द्विमासजातः इति चेष्यते । द्व्यह्नजातश्च न सिध्यति ; द्व्यहजात इति प्राप्नोति ।

No, it cannot be so. There will be difficulty in the *svara*. According to it the final syllable in *dvimāsajātaḥ* will be *udātta*; but it has it in the initial syllable. Besides the form *dvyahnajātaḥ* cannot be secured; and the form *dvyahajātaḥ* will take its place.

न चैवं भवितव्यम् ? Is not it (*dvyahajātaḥ*) to be had ?

भवितव्यं च यदा समाहारे द्विगुः

It is possible if it is a case of *samāhāra dvigu* (by *Na saṅkhyādēḥ samāhārē* 5, 4, 89).

द्व्यह्नजातस्तु न सिध्यति *Dvyahnajātaḥ* will not be secured.

किमुच्यते परिमाणिनेति ? न पुनरन्यत्रापि पञ्चगवप्रियः दशगवप्रियः ?

Why is *parimāṇinā* alone read ? Does it not appear elsewhere as in *pañcagavapriyaḥ* and *daśagavapriyaḥ* ?

अन्यत्र समुदायबहुव्रीहित्वादुत्तरपदप्रासिद्धिः

On account of other *samudāyas* being *bahuvrīhi*, there is the *prasiddhi* of *uttarapada*.

अन्यत्र समुदायो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञः । अन्यत्र समुदायबहुव्रीहित्वाद् उत्तरपदं प्रसिद्धम् । उत्तरपदे प्रसिद्धे उत्तरपदे इति द्विगुर्भविष्यति

The *samudāya* elsewhere is *bahuvrīhi*. Since the *samudāya* elsewhere is *bahuvrīhi*, *uttarapada* is *prasiddha*. When *uttarapada* is *prasiddha*, *dvigu* sets in on the strength of *uttarapadē* (i.e. the *vārttika Dvandvatatpuruṣayōr uttarapadē*....).

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VI

सर्वत्र मत्वर्थे प्रतिषेधः

Prohibition (of *dvigu-saṁjñā*) in all cases when *malvartha* follows.

सर्वेषु पक्षेषु द्विगुसंज्ञायाः मत्वर्थे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Dvigu-saṁjñā is to be prohibited in all cases when *matvartha* follows.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

पञ्चखट्वा, दशखट्वा, द्विगोः इतीकारो मा भूत्, पञ्चगुः, दशगुः, गोरतद्धितलुकि इति टज् मा भूद् इति ।

To prevent *ṅīp* in *pañcakhaṭvā* and *daśakhaṭvā* by *Dvigōḥ* and *ṭac* in *pañcaguḥ* and *daśaguḥ* by *Gōr ataddhitaluki* (5, 4, 92).

सङ्ख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः (2, 1, 52)

किमनन्तरे योगे यः सङ्ख्यापूर्वः सः द्विगुसंज्ञः, आहोस्वित् पूर्वमात्रे?

Is *dvigu-saṁjñā* enjoined to the compound whose former member is a number, mentioned in the immediately previous *sūtra* or in the previous *sūtras*?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the previous *sūtras* refer to only three *sūtras* which precede this.

किं चातः?

What does it matter if it refers to this or the other?

[1] यद्यनन्तरे योगे - एकशाटी इति द्विगोः इति ईकारो न प्राप्नोति

If the previous *sūtra* alone is taken into account, *ṅīp* cannot appear in *Ēkaśāṭī* by *Dvigōḥ* (4, 1, 21), since it is not a *dvigu*.

अथ पूर्वमात्रे, एकभिक्षा - अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If all the three *sūtras* that precede are taken into account, *ṅīp* may appear in *ēka-bhikṣā* too.

अस्त्वनन्तरे

Let the immediately preceding *sūtra* be taken into account.

कथम् एकशाटी? How is the form *ēkaśāṭī* secured?

ईकारान्तेन समासो भविष्यति - एका शाटी एकशाटी

Eka-śāṭī is taken to be the compound of *ēkā* and *śāṭī*.

1. *Yadā* is another reading.

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इह तर्हि, एकापूपी, द्विगोः इति ईकारो न प्राप्नोति

Here then, in the word *ēkāpūpī*, *ṅīp* cannot appear by *Dvigōḥ*.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वमात्रे

Let all the preceding three be taken into account.

कथमेकभिक्षा ? How is *ēkabhikṣa* secured?

टावन्तेन सह समासो भविष्यति, एका भिक्षा एकभिक्षा

Ekā and *bhikṣā* compound together into *ēkabikṣā*.

इदं तर्हि सप्तर्षयः, इगन्ते द्विगौ इत्येष स्वरः प्राप्नोति

In that case the compound *saptarṣayaḥ* will chance to receive *udātta* in *sapta* by *Iganta ..dvigāu* (6, 2, 29) though *ṣa* is the *udātta* syllable there.

अस्तु तर्हि अनन्तरे

Let, then, the immediately previous *sūtra* be taken into account.

कथम् एकापूपी ? How is it to arrive at the form *ēkāpūpī* ?

समाहार इत्येव सिद्धम्

It is secured thro' *samāhārē* in the previous *sūtra*.

कः पुनरत्र समाहारः ? How can there be *samāhāra* here?

यत्तद्दानं सम्भ्रमो वा

Since the giver may consider it to be many though it is one, or the receiver may consider it so.

इह तर्हि पञ्चहोतारः, दशहोतारः, इगन्ते द्विगौ इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति

Here, then, in *pañca-hōtāraḥ* and *daśa-hōtāraḥ*, *pa* and *da* cannot be *udātta* by *Iganta....dvigāu* (6, 2, 29).

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वमात्रे

Let it, then, refer to all the three preceding *sūtras*.

कथं सप्तर्षयः ? What about the *svara* in *saptarṣayaḥ* ?

अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दसि इत्येवमेतत्सिद्धम्

It is secured by the *vārttika Antōdāttaprakaraṇē tricakrādīnām chandasyupasaṅkhyānam* (under *Parādiśchandasi bahulam* 6, 2, 199).

अथवा पुनरस्त्वनन्तरे

Or let only the preceding *sūtra* be taken into account.

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कथं पञ्चहोतारः, दशहोतारः ?

How is *ādyudātta* in the forms *pañcahōtāraḥ* and *daśahōtāraḥ* secured ?

आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दसीत्येव सिद्धम्

It is secured by the *vārttika Ādyudāttaprakaraṇē divōdāsādīnām chandasyupasaṅkhyānam* (under *Na bhūtādhika*...6, 2, 91.)

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः (2, 1, 52)

किमुदाहरणम् ? What is the example ?

वैयाकरणखसूचिः The word *Vāiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ*.

किं व्याकरणं कुत्सितम्, आहोस्विद् वैयाकरणः ?

Is *Vyākaraṇa* the object of derision or *vāiyākaraṇa* ?

वैयाकरणः कुत्सितः; तस्मिन् कुत्सिते तत्स्थमपि कुत्सितं भवति

Vāiyākaraṇa is the object of derision; when he is the object of derision, his learning too becomes *kutsita*.

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (2, 1, 55)

The nature of *upamāna* and *sāmānya* is discussed here.

I

उपमानानि इत्युच्यते; कानि पुनरुपमानानि ? किं यदेवोपमानं तदेवोपमेयम्, आहोस्विद् अन्यदेवोपमानम् अन्यद् उपमेयम् ?

The word *upamānāni* is read. What are *upamāna's?* Is *upamāna* identical with *upamēya* or different from it ?

किं चातः ? What does it matter if it is either ?

यदि यदेवोपमानं तदेवोपमेयं, क इहोपमार्थः गौरिव गौः इति ? अथ अन्यदेवोपमानम् अन्यद् उपमेयं क इहोपमार्थः गौरिव अश्वः इति ?

If *upamāna* and *upamēya* are identical, what is the purpose served by the *upamā* of the form *Gaur iva gāuḥ*? If *upamāna* is, on the other hand, entirely different from *upamēya*, what is the purpose served by the *upamā* of the form *Gaur iva aśvaḥ?*

एवं तर्हि यत्र किञ्चित् सामान्यं कश्चिच्च विशेषः तत्रोपमानोपमेये भवतः ।

If so, one is *upamāna* and the other, *upamēya*, if they are partly similar and partly different.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत् ? Is this to be so explained ?

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न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it understood without its being so explained?

मानं हि नामानिर्ज्ञातज्ञानार्थमुपादीयते अनिर्ज्ञातमर्थं ज्ञास्यामि इति । तत्समीपे यन्नात्यन्ताय मिमीते तदुपमानं गौरिव गवयः इति । गौर्निर्ज्ञातो, गवयोऽनिर्ज्ञातः ।

For *māna*, the means of discernment, is taken recourse to by one for enabling another to discern what is not already known. He feels, 'I shall make him understand this which is not known to him.' *Upamāna* is one which approximates to *māna* as in the sentence *Gāur iva gavayaḥ* (*gavayaḥ* is like *gāuḥ*). Here *gāuḥ* is known and *gavayaḥ* is not known.

कामं तर्हि अनेनैव हेतुना यस्य गवयो निर्ज्ञातः स्याद् गौरनिर्ज्ञातः तेन कर्तव्यं स्याद् गवय इव गौरिति

If so, I hope that, following the same line of argument, if *gavaya* is known to one and *gō* is not known, he should be informed '*Gavaya iva gāuḥ.*'

बाढं कर्तव्यम् Certainly; he should be so informed.

II

किं पुनरिह उदाहरणम्? What is the example here?

शस्त्रीश्यामा The word *śastrī-śyāmā* (a lady brown as knife).

क पुनरयं श्यामाशब्दो वर्तते?

Where does the connotation of *śyāmā* rest?

शस्त्र्याम् इत्याह 'In the knife,' says he.

केन तर्हीदानीं देवदत्ता अभिधीयते?

By which in *śastrī-śyāmā* is the lady *Dēvadattā* denoted then?[1]

समासेन Through *samāsa*.

यद्येवं शस्त्रीश्यामो देवदत्त इति न सिध्यति

If so, it is not possible to secure the form *śastrī-śyāmaḥ* with short *a* at the end in the expression *Śastrīśyāmō Dēvadattaḥ*.

NOTE:—This arises since *śyāmā* which is considered *pradhāna* is feminine.

1. This question arises from three points:—*Śastrīśyāmā* refers to a lady, *śyāmatva* rests in *śastrī* and *śastrī* means knife.

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उपसर्जनस्य इति ह्रस्वत्वं भविष्यति

The final *ā* in *śyāmā* is shortened on the strength of *upasarjanasya* (in *Gōstriyōr upasarjanasya* 1, 2, 48).

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Samāsavācyatvād upamēyam hi pradhānam.*

यदि तर्हि उपसर्जनान्यप्येवंजातीयकानि भवन्ति तित्तिरिकल्माषी, कुम्भकपाललोहिनी, अनुपसर्जनलक्षण ईकारो न प्राप्नोति ।

If such words are taken as *upasarjanas*, long *ī* based on *un-upasarjanatva* in *tittirikalmāṣī* and *kumbhakapālalōhinī* may not set in.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that in *hrasvavidhi* only *śāstrīya-upasarjanam* is taken into account and not *lāukika-upasarjanam.*

एवं तर्हि शस्त्र्यामेव शस्त्रीशब्दो वर्तते, देवदत्तायां श्यामाशब्दः ।

If so, the word *śastrī* denotes knife and the word *śyāmā* refers to *Dēvadattā* of brown colour.

एवमपि गुणोऽनिर्दिष्टो [1] भवति । बहवः शस्त्र्यां गुणाः, तीक्ष्णा सूक्ष्मा पृथुरिति

The particular *guṇa* in *śastrī* to which there is reference here is not then specified. Many are the qualities found in a knife - sharpness, fineness and bigness.

अनिर्दिश्यमानस्यापि गुणस्य भवति लोके सम्प्रत्ययः । तद्यथा - चन्द्रमुखी देवदत्ता इति । बहवश्चन्द्रे गुणाः, या चासौ प्रियदर्शनता सा गम्यते

Meaning is comprehended in the world, even though the quality is not specified. For instance in the expression *Candramukhī Dēvadattā* (*Dēvadattā* is moon-faced), the quality of pleasant look among the many qualities of the moon is comprehended though it is not expressed.

एवमपि समानाधिकरणेन इति वर्तते, व्यधिकरणत्वात् समासो न प्राप्नोति

Even then there is no chance for *samāsa* on account of *śyāmātva* being in *Dēvadattā* and *śāstrītva* being in *śastrī*; for there must be *samānādhikaraṇatva* between both, since there is *anuvṛtti* for the word *samānādhikaraṇēna* in this *sūtra* from 2, 1, 49.

किं हि वचनान्न भवति?

Will it not take place on the strength of this *sūtra*?

1. *Na nirdiṣṭō bhavati* is another reading.

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NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* quotes here the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā-nyāya* that *prakaraṇa*, being *durbala*, is set at naught by *śruti.*

यद्यपि तावद् वचनात् समासः स्यात्, इह खलु मृगीव चपला मृगचपला समानाधिकरणलक्षणः पुंवद्भावो न प्राप्नोति ।

Tho' *samāsa* may set in on the strength of the *vacana*, *puṁvad-bhāva* based on *sāmānādhikaraṇya* may not appear in *mṛga-capalā* (*mṛgī iva capalā*) by *Puṁvat karmadhāraya* ... 6, 3, 42.)

एवं तर्हि तस्यामेवोभयं वर्तते

If so, both (*śyāmātva* and *śastrītva*) are taken to exist there (in *Dēvadattā.*)

NOTE:—*Śastrītva* here refers to *śastrīsādṛśya.*

एतच्चात्र युक्तं यत् तस्यामेवोभयं वर्तत इति । इतरथा हि बह्वपेक्ष्यं स्यात् ।

It is but proper to take that both exist there (in *Dēvadattā.*) Otherwise there will be a wide lacuna.

यदि तावदेवं विग्रहः क्रियते शस्त्रीव श्यामा देवदत्ता इति, शस्त्र्यां श्यामेत्येतदपेक्ष्यं स्यात्

If, on the other hand, the *vigraha* is done this way-*śastrī iva śyāmā* (*Dēvadattā*), *śyāmātva* in *śastrī* has to be taken into account.

अथाप्येवं विग्रहः क्रियते यथा शस्त्री श्यामा तद्वदियं देवदत्ता इति, एवमपि देवदत्तायां श्यामेत्येतद् अपेक्ष्यं स्यात्

Or if the *vigraha* is done this way *yathā śastrī śyāmā tadvad iyam Dēvadattā*, even then *śyāmātva* in *Dēvadattā* has to be taken into account.

एवमपि गुणोऽनिर्दिष्टो भवति । बहवश्च शस्त्र्यां गुणाः तीक्ष्णा सूक्ष्मा पृथुरिति

Even then the quality is not specified. Many are the qualities in *śastrī* since it is *tīkṣṇā*, *sūkṣmā* and *pṛthuḥ*.

अनिर्दिश्यमानस्यापि गुणस्य भवति लोके सम्प्रत्ययः । तद्यथा चन्द्रमुखी देवदत्ता इति । बहवश्चन्द्रे गुणाः - या चासौ प्रियदर्शनता सा गम्यते ।

Meaning is comprehended in the world, even though the quality is not specified. For instance, in the expression *Caṇdramukhī Dēvadattā*, the quality of pleasant look among

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the many qualities of the moon is comprehended though it is not expressed.

उपमानसमासे गुणवचनस्य विशेषभाक्त्वात् सामान्यवचनाप्रसिद्धिः

Impossibility of securing *samāsa* from *sāmānyavacanāiḥ* on account of the quality in *upamānasamāsa* referring to its peculiar state in the *upamāna*.

उपमानसमासे गुणवचनस्य विशेषणभाक्त्वात् सामान्यवचनस्य अप्रसिद्धिः स्यात् - शस्त्रीश्यामा इति - श्यामाशब्दोऽयं शस्त्रीशब्देनाभिसम्बध्यमानो विशेषवचनः सम्पद्यते । तत्र सामान्यवचनैः इति समासो न प्राप्नोति ।

Sāmānyaśabda has no chance to exist in *upamāna-samāsa*, since only the specific quality in the *upamāna* is read. In the word *śastrī-śyāma*, the word *śyāma* in its association with *śastrī* specifies the quality. Hence there will be no *samāsa* on the authority of *sāmānyavacanāiḥ* in the *sūtra*.

न वा श्यामत्वस्योभयत्र भावात्तद्वाचकत्वाच्च शब्दस्य सामान्यवचनत्वस्य प्रसिद्धिः

No; *samāsa* can be secured thro' *sāmānyavacanāiḥ*, since *śyāmatva* exists in both and the word is its *vācaka*.

न वैष दोषः No, this difficulty does not arise.

कि कारणम् ? Why?

श्यामत्वस्योभयत्र भावात् - उभयत्रैवात्र श्यामत्वमस्ति, शस्त्र्यां, देवदत्तायां च

Since *śyāmatva* exists in both. *Syāmatva* exists in both - *śastrī* and *Dēvadattā*.

तद्वाचकत्वाच्च शब्दस्य - तद्वाचकश्चात्र श्यामाशब्दः प्रयुज्यते

On account of the *śabda* being its *vācaka*. The word *śyāmā* is its *vācaka*.

किंवाचकः? Whose *vācaka* is it?

उभयवाचकः The *vācaka* of *śyāmatva* found in both.

श्यामत्वस्योभयत्र भावात् तद्वाचकत्वाच्च शब्दस्य सामान्यवचनत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । सामान्यवचने प्रसिद्धे सामान्यवचनैः इति समासो भविष्यति ।

Since *śyāmatva* exists in both and the word is its *vācaka*, *sāmānyaśabdatva* is established. On account of its *prasiddhi* *samāsa* takes place thro' *sāmānyavacanāiḥ*.

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न चावश्यं स एव सामान्यवचनो यो बहूनां सामान्यमाह, द्वयोरपि यः सामान्यमाह सोऽपि सामान्यवचन एव ।

A word need not be considered *sāmānya-vācaka* only if the quality exists in many. Even if it exists in two, it may be called *sāmānyaśabda*.

अथ वा सामान्यवचनैरित्युच्यते । सर्वश्च शब्दोऽन्येन शब्देन अभिसम्बध्यमानो विशेषवचनः संपद्यते । त एवं विज्ञास्यामः - प्रागभिसम्बन्धाद्यः सामान्यवचन इति ॥

Or *sāmānyavacanāiḥ* is read. All *śabdas* in association with other *śabdas* become *viśēṣavacana*. Hence we interpret that it refers to the word which is *sāmānyavacana* before it is associated with another.

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे (2, 1, 56)

सामान्याप्रयोग इति किमर्थम्? Why is *sāmānyāprayōgē* read?

इह मा भूत्, पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव शूरः, पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव बलवान्

To prevent *samāsa* here in :—*Puruśōsyam vyāghra iva śūraḥ* and *Puruṣōsyam vyāghra iva balavān* (where *śūra* and *balavān* are read).

सामान्याप्रयोग इति शक्यमवक्तुम्

It is possible to dispense with *sāmānyāprayōgē*.

इह कस्मान्न भवति - पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव शूरः, पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव बलवान्

Which will prevent the *samāsa* in *Puruṣōsyam vyāghra iva śūraḥ* and *Puruṣōsyam vyāghra iva balavān*?

असामर्थ्यात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? Why is it that there is no *sāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति

By the dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamarthạm bhavati*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत् सामान्याप्रयोगे इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवति वै प्रधानस्य सापेक्षस्यापि समासः इति ।

Since *Ācārya* prohibits *samāsa* when *sāmānya* is mentioned even though it is otherwise secured, he suggests that there is *samāsa* with reference to *pradhāna* even though it is *sāpēkṣa*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

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राजपुरुषोऽभिरूपः, राजपुरुषो दर्शनीयः - अत्र वृत्तिः सिद्धा भवति
Samāsa of *puruṣa* with *rājñaḥ* is found in the following cases :– *Rājapuruṣō abhirūpaḥ* and *Rājapuruṣō darśanīyaḥ* though *puruṣa* expects the predicate *abhirūpaḥ* or *darśanīyaḥ*.

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् (2, 1, 58)

विशेषणविशेष्ययोरुभयविशेषणत्वादुभयोश्च [1] विशेष्यत्वादुपसर्जनाप्रसिद्धिः
It is difficult to decide which is *upasarjana*, since each may be taken as *viśēṣaṇa* since it restricts the application of the other and each may be taken as *viśēṣya*, since its application is restricted by the other.

विशेषणविशेष्ययोः उभयविशेषणत्वाद् उभयोश्च विशेष्यत्वाद् उपसर्जनस्य अप्रसिद्धिः - कृष्णतिलाः इति । कृष्णशब्दोऽयं तिलशब्देन अभिसम्बध्यमानो विशेषणवचनः सम्पद्यते, तथा तिलशब्दः कृष्णशब्देन अभिसम्बध्यमानो विशेषणवचनः सम्पद्यते । तदुभयं विशेषणं भवति, उभयं च विशेष्यम् । विशेषणविशेष्ययोः उभयविशेषणत्वाद् उभयोश्च विशेष्यत्वाद् उपसर्जनस्य [2] अप्रसिद्धिः ।
There is difficulty in deciding which is *upasarjana*, since each may be taken as *viśēṣaṇa* as it restricts the application of the other and each may be taken as *viśēṣya* as its application is restricted by the other. *Viz. Kṛṣṇatilāḥ*. The word *kṛṣṇa* when associated with *tila* restricts its application and becomes its *viśēṣaṇa* and similarly the word *tila* when associated with *kṛṣṇa* restricts its application and becomes its *viśēṣaṇa*. Hence both become *viśēṣaṇa* and both become *viśēṣya*. Since both may be taken as *viśēṣaṇa* and *viṣēśya* in turn, it is not possible to decide which is *upasarjana*.

न वान्यतरस्य प्रधानभावात् तद्विशेषकत्वाच्चापरस्योपसर्जनप्रसिद्धिः
No; *upasarjanatva* may be secured on account of either of the two being *pradhāna* and the other being *viśēṣaṇa*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अन्यतरस्य प्रधानभावात् - अन्यतरद् अत्र प्रधानम् । तद्विशेषकत्वाच्चापरस्य - तद्विशेषकं चापरम् । अन्यतरस्य प्रधानभावात् तद्विशेषकत्वाच्च अपरस्य उपसर्जनसंज्ञा

1. *Ubhaya* is another reading. 2. *Upasarjanatvasya* is another reading.

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भविष्यति । यदा अस्य तिलाः प्राधान्येन विवक्षिता भवन्ति कृष्णो विशेषकत्वेन, तदा तिलाः प्रधानं कृष्णो विशेषणम् ।
On account of either being *pradhāna*. Either of the two, here, is *pradhāna*. On account of other being its restricting element. The other is its *vyavacchēdaka*. *Upasarjana-saṁjñā* sets in since one is *pradhāna* and the other is its *viśēṣaṇa*. When *tila* is intended by him to be *pradhāna* and *kṛṣṇa* to be *viśēṣaṇa*, *tila* is *pradhāna* and *kṛṣṇa* is *viśēṣaṇa*.

कामं तर्हि अनेनैव हेतुना यस्य कृष्णाः प्राधान्येन विवक्षिता भवन्ति तिला विशेषणत्वेन, तेन कर्तव्यं तिलकृष्णा इति ।
If, then, one, following the same line of argument, intends *kṛṣṇa* to be *pradhāna* and *tila* to be *viśēṣaṇa*, he may read the form *tilakṛṣṇaḥ*.

न कर्तव्यम् । न ह्ययं द्वन्द्वः, तिलाश्च कृष्णाश्चेति ; न खल्वपि षष्ठीसमासः तिलानां कृष्णा इति ।
No, he should not read it; for it is not *dvandva* of *tilāḥ* and *kṛṣṇāḥ*; nor is it *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* of *tilānām* and *kṛṣṇāḥ*.

किं तर्हि ? What then?

द्वाविमौ प्रधानशब्दावेकस्मिन्नर्थे युगपदवरुध्येते, न च द्वयोः प्रधानशब्दयोरेकस्मिन्नर्थे युगपदवरुध्यमानयोः किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनमस्ति, तत्र प्रयोगाद् एतद् गन्तव्यम्-नूनमत्र अन्यतरत् प्रधानं तद्विशेषकं चापरम् इति
These two words (in the nominative case) which are *pradhānas* have to operate simultaneously upon one object; but there is no use of two *pradhāna-śabdas* operating upon the same object at the same time. Hence it is be decided from usage that one is certainly *pradhāna* and the other *viśēṣaṇa*.

तत्र त्वेतावान् सन्देहः कि प्रधानं किं विशेषणमिति ?
But this doubt arises there, which of the two *pradhāna* and which is *viśēṣaṇa*?

स चापि क्वापि सन्देहः ? Where does that doubt arise?

यत्रोभौ गुणशब्दौ । तद्यथा, खञ्जः कुब्जः खञ्जकुब्ज [1] इति
Where both are *guṇavācakas* as in the compound *khañjakubjaḥ* formed of *khañjaḥ* and *kubjaḥ*.

1. *Khañjakubjaḥ Kubjakhañjaḥ* is another reading.

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यत्र ह्यन्यतरद् द्रव्यम् अन्यतरो गुणः, तत्र यद् द्रव्यं तत् प्रधानम् । तद्यथा शुक्लमालभेत, कृष्णमालभेत, न पिष्टपिण्डीमालभ्य कृती भवति । अवश्यं तद्गुणं द्रव्यमाकाङ्क्षति ।

Where one is *dravya-vācaka* and the other is *guṇavācaka*, that which is *dravya-vācaka* is *pradhāna*. If one, on hearing the sentences *śuklam ālabhēta* and *kṛṣṇam ālabhēta*, ties to the stake a ball of flour of that colour, he does not achieve his object. Hence he necessarily is eager to know the *dravya* having that colour.

कथं तर्हि इमौ द्वौ प्रधानशब्दावेकस्मिन्नर्थे युगपदवरुध्येते वृक्षः शिंशपेति ?

What is to be done here - *vṛkṣaḥ śiṁśapā* - where both, being *pradhāna*, operate on the same object at the same time ?

नैतयोरावश्यकः समावेशः । न ह्यवृक्षः शिंशपास्ति

There is no need for the association of these two; for there is no *siṁśapā* which is not a *vṛkṣa*.

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च (2, 1, 58)

अथ किमर्थमुत्तरत्र एवमाद्यनुक्रमणं क्रियते ? न विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् इत्येव सिद्धम् ?

Why are this *sūtra* and the following ones read after *Viśēṣaṇam viśēṣyēṇa bahulam* ? Is not their purpose served by itself ?

बहुलवचनस्याकृत्स्नत्वादुत्तरत्रानुक्रमणसामर्थ्यम्

This *sūtra* and the following ones are read, since many may not grasp the full import of *bahulam*.

अकृत्स्नं बहुलवचनमिति उत्तरत्रानुक्रमणं क्रियते

This and the later *sūtras* are read, since it is not easy to grasp the full import of *bahulam*.

यद्यकृत्स्नं, यदनेन कृतमकृतं तत्

If it is not comprehensive, what is done by it is nothing.

NOTE :—This question arises on taking *kṛtsnam* to mean *vyāpakam* and not *kṛtsna-pratipattṛ-viṣayam*.

एवं तर्हि न ब्रूमोऽकृत्स्नमिति, कृत्स्नं च कारकं च साधकं च निर्वर्त्तकं च । यच्चानेन कृतं सुकृतं तत्

If so, we do not read *akṛtsnam*, but read *kṛtsnam*, *kārakam*, *sādhakam* and *nirvarttakam*. What is comprehended by it is full.

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NOTE:—*Kṛtsnam* and the following three convey the same sense of *capable of accomplishing*. Sometimes *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes delight in giving out such expressions: *Cf. Dharmāya niyamaḥ, dharmārthō vā niyamaḥ, dharmaprayōjanō vā niyamaḥ; Vṛttayē samavāyaḥ, vṛttyarthō vā samavāyaḥ, vṛttiprayōjanō vā samavāyaḥ* (*Āhnika* 1). But *Kāiyaṭa* adds that, in the opinion of some, four kinds of meanings of *bahulam* are denoted.

किमर्थं तर्ह्येतमाद्यनुक्रमणं क्रियते ?

Why is then this *sūtra* read and the later ones ?

उदाहरणभूयस्त्वात् On account of the immensity of examples.

एते खल्वपि विधयः सुपरिगृहीता भवन्ति येषु लक्षणं प्रपञ्चश्च । केवलं लक्षणं केवलः प्रपञ्चो वा न तथा कारकं भवति

These *vidhis* are well understood, thro' enunciation and elaboration. Neither the former alone nor the latter alone produces such a comprehension.

अवश्यं खल्वप्यस्माभिरिदं वक्तव्यम् - बहुलम्, अन्यतरस्याम्, उभयथा, वा, एकेषाम् इति । सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्

This, the different ways of expression - *bahulam, anyatarasyām ubhayathā, vā, ēkēṣām* must be adopted by us. For this *śāstra* is common to all *Vēdas* and it is not possible to adhere to one way of expression.

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः (2, 1, 59)

श्रेण्यादयः पठ्यन्ते, कृतादिराकृतिगणः

The group starting with *śrēṇi* in the *gaṇapāṭha* is comprehensive, while that with *kṛta* allows further addition.

श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थवचनम् Need to read *cvyartha* in *śrēṇyādi*.

श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः । यदा हि श्रेणय एव किञ्चित् क्रियन्ते तदा मा भूदिति ।

It is necessary to read that *samāsa* takes place in *śrēṇi*, [1] etc. only where there is the sense of *cvi* there, so that *śrēṇīkṛtāḥ*

1. *Śrēṇi* means a company of artisans doing the same kind of work or a company of men trading in the same article.

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means *aśrēṇayaḥ śrēṇayaḥ kṛtāḥ* (those who did not belong to *śrēṇi* are now made to belong to it). It should not appear when associations are formed.

अन्यत्रायं च्व्यर्थग्रहणेषु च्व्यन्तस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तदिह न तथा । किं कारणम् ?

Prohibition is made of *cvyanta* elsewhere (*sākṣātkṛtya*) where there is the meaning of *cvi*; here it is not so done. Why?

अन्यत्र पूर्वं च्व्यन्तकार्यं परं च्व्यर्थकार्यम्, इह पुनः पूर्वं च्व्यर्थकार्यं परं च्व्यन्तकार्यमिति

Cvyantakārya precedes *cvyarthakārya* elsewhere; but here *cvyarthakārya* precedes *cvyantakārya*.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् (2, 1, 60)

नञ्विशिष्टे समानप्रकृतिग्रहणम्

Need to read *samāna-prakṛtinā* to qualify *nañ-viśiṣṭēna ktēna.*

नञ्विशिष्टे समानप्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, इह मा भूत् - सिद्धं च अभुक्तं च

Samānaprakṛtinā should be read as an adjunct to *nañ-viśiṣṭēna ktēna* so that *siddham* may not compound with *abhuktam.*

NOTE:—*Prakṛti* refers to root and meaning.

अनञिति च *Anañ,* as is read in the *sūtra,* is also necessary.

अनञिति च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, इह मा भूत् कर्तव्यमकृतम् इति

The *pratiṣēdha anañ* read in the *sūtra* is also necessary, to prevent *kartavyam* from compounding with *akṛtam.*

NOTE:—*Anañ* is *bahuvrīhi* and qualifies *ktānta* through *sannidhi.*

नुडिडधिकेन च *Nuḍ-iḍ-adhikēna* too must be read.

नुडिडधिकेन च समासो वक्तव्यः, इहापि यथा स्यात् - अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्लिष्टाक्लिशितेन इति

Samāsa must be enjoined between *ktānta* and *aktānta* having *nuṭ* and *iṭ* also to secure *aśitānaśitēna* in the sentence *aśitāna-śitēna jīvati* and *kliṣṭākliśitēna.*

NOTE:—Some think that *nuḍgrahaṇam* is *upalakṣaṇa* to *āgamas* and others think that it is so to all *vikāras* having no difference in meaning.

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किमुच्यते समानप्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् इति, यदा नञ्विशिष्टेनेत्युच्यते? न चात्र नञ्कृत एव विशेषः

What is the need for saying *Samāna-prakṛti-grahaṇam kartavyam*, when there is already *nañviśiṣṭēna* in the *sūtra*? Here *viśēṣa* is secured not only by *nañ*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

प्रकृतिकृतोऽपि । अयं विशिष्टशब्दोऽस्त्येवावधारणे वर्तते । तद्यथा - देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ आढ्यौ अभिरूपौ दर्शनीयौ पक्षवन्तौ । देवदत्तस्तु यज्ञदत्तात् स्वाध्यायेन विशिष्टः । स्वाध्यायेनैव इति गम्यते । अन्ये गुणाः समा भवन्ति । अस्त्याधिक्ये वर्तते । तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ आढ्यौ अभिरूपौ दर्शनीयौ पक्षवन्तौ । देवदत्तस्तु यज्ञदत्तात् स्वाध्यायेन विशिष्टः । स्वाध्यायेनाधिकः । अन्ये गुणा अविवक्षिता भवन्ति । तद्यदा तावदवधारणे विशिष्टशब्दः तदा नैवार्थः समानप्रकृतिग्रहणेन, नेह भविष्यति सिद्धं चाभुक्तं चेति; नाप्यनञिति प्रतिषेधेन, नेह भविष्यति कर्तव्यमकृतमिति; नुडिडधिकेनापि तु तदा समासो न प्राप्नोति । यदाधिक्ये विशिष्टशब्दस्तदा समासप्रकृतिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् इह मा भूत् - सिद्धं चाभुक्तं चेति; अनञिति च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । इह मा भूत्, कर्तव्यमकृतमिति; नुडिडधिकेनापि तु तदा समासः सिद्धो भवति । तत्राधिक्ये विशिष्टशब्दं मत्वा समानप्रकृतिग्रहणं चोद्यते

The *viśēṣa* has reference to stem also. This word - *viśiṣṭa* - has the sense of *emphasis*. This is seen in the following instance :-*Dēvadatta* and *Yajñadatta* are rich, beautiful, of comely appearance and kind. But *Dēvadatta* excels *Yajñadatta* in the study of the *Vēdas*. It is suggested that it is, through the study of the *Vēdas* alone, that he excels him, all other qualities being common. It has the sense of *excelling*. This is seen in the following instance :-*Dēvadatta* and *Yajñadatta* are rich, beautiful, of comely appearance and kind. But *Dēvadatta* is superior to *Yajñadatta* in the study of the *Vēdas*. It is suggested that he is superior to the other through the study of the *Vēdas*, other qualities being left out of account. Hence if the word *viśiṣṭa* is taken in the sense of *avadhāraṇa*, the *vārttika Samānaprakṛtigrahaṇam* need not be read, since there is no chance for *siddham* and *abhuktam* to be compounded, nor the *vārttika Anañiti ca*, since there is no chance

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for *kartavyam* and *akṛtam* to be compounded. The *vārttika Nuḍiḍadhikēna ca* is necessary since otherwise the *samāsas* having them will not be secured. If, on the other hand, *viśiṣṭa* is taken in the sense of *ādhikya*, the *vārttika Samāsa-prakṛtigrahaṇam kartavyam* has to be read to prevent the *samāsa* between *siddham* and *abhuktam* and the *vārttika Anañiti ca* to prevent the *samāsa* between *kartavyam* and *akṛtam*; but the *vārttika Nuḍiḍadhikēna* is not necessary, since *samāsa* is *siddha*. Taking *viśiṣṭa* in the sense of *ādhikya*, the above discussion was started.

The same idea is expressed in the following verse:—

अवधारणं नञा चेन्नुडिड्विशिष्टेन न प्रकल्पेत ।
अथ चेदधिकविवक्षा कार्यं तुल्यप्रकृतिकेन ॥

कृतापकृतादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानम् *Kṛtāpakṛta* etc. has to be added.

कृतापकृतादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - कृतापकृतम्, भुक्तविभुक्तम्, पीतविपीतम् ।

The following *kṛtāpakṛtam*, *bhuktavibhuktam* and *pītavipītam* should be added.

सिद्धं तु क्तेन विसमाप्तावनञ्

It is achieved that *anañanta* which denotes incompletion may compound with *ktānta*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

क्तान्तेन क्रियाविसमाप्तौ अनञ्क्तान्तं समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *ktānta* and *anañ-ktānta* compound with each other, if the latter denotes the non-completion of the action.

गतप्रत्यागतादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानम्

Gata-pratyāgata etc. has to be added.

गतप्रत्यागतादीनां चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - गतप्रत्यागतं, यातानुयातं, पुटापुटिका, क्रयाक्रयिका, फलाफलिका, मानोन्मानिका ।

Gata-pratyāgata etc. must be added. They are *gata-pratyāgatam*, *yāta-anuyātam*, *puṭa-apuṭikā*, *kraya-akrayikā*, *phala-aphalikā* and *māna-unmānikā*.

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युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः (2, 1, 67)

अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देशः । समानाधिकरणेन इति वर्तते, क· प्रसङ्गो यद् व्यधिकरणानां समासः स्यात्?

This *sūtra* is unnecessary. There is the *anuvṛtti* for *Samānādhikaraṇēna*. Where is the chance for those which are not *samānādhikaraṇa* to compound themselves?

एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो यथाजातीयकमुत्तरपदं तथाजातीयकेन पूर्वपदेन समासो भवति इति

If so, *Ācārya* suggests that the latter member compounds with the former member of the same class.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that *yathājātīyakam* refers to *strīliṅgaśabdasvarūpam*.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति

There is no need to read the *paribhāṣā Prātipadikagrahaṇē liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam.*

वर्णो वर्णेन (2, 1, 68)

There are *six* topics here:—(1) Is the *samāsa* between two *varṇa-vācaka-padas tṛtīyāsamāsa* or *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa*? What are their relative advantages? (2) In the *samāsa* between two words which have a chance to be operated upon by *sūtras* in *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra*, the use of *tṛtīyā* or *prathamā* in the members is to be decided by the latter of the two sets of *sūtras*. (3) Generally *bahuvrīhi* is formed from *karma-dhāraya* stems and sometimes *matvarthīyapratyayas* are used after them. (4) *Bahuvrīhi* after *ātiśāyikapratyaya* of the *pūrvapada* of a compound has to be admitted. (5) *Bahuvrīhi* after *ātiśāyikapratyaya* of the *uttarapada* of a compound has to be admitted. (6) There is need to add *śākapārthivādis* in the *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra*.

I

इदं विचार्यते - वर्णेन तृतीयसमासो वा स्यात् कृष्णेन सारङ्गः कृष्णसारङ्गः इति, समानाधिकरणो वा कृष्णः सारङ्गः कृष्णसारङ्ग इति

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This is discussed here whether *kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ* is the *samāsa* of *kṛṣṇēna* and *sāraṅgaḥ* or that of *kṛṣṇaḥ* and *sāraṅgaḥ*.

NOTE:—1. Since *sāraṅga* colour cannot exist without *kṛṣṇa* colour and consequently the latter may be taken as the *hētu* of the former, there is scope for *tṛtīyā-samāsa*; and since *kṛṣṇa* is *avayava* of *sāraṅga*, there is scope for *samānādhikaraṇasamāsa*.

NOTE:—2. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that the aim of the *vicāra* is to determine whether this *sūtra* is to be read in the *tṛtīyāsamāsaprakaraṇa* or in the *samānādhikaraṇasamāsaprakaraṇa*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? Which of the two is better ?

वर्णेन तृतीयासमास एतत्प्रतिषेधे वर्णग्रहणम्

If this *sūtra Varṇō varṇēna* refers to *tṛtīyāsamāsa*, there is need to read *varṇa* (as it is now read) in the *sūtra Varṇō varṇēṣvanētē*[1] (6, 2, 3.)

वर्णेन तृतीयासमासे एतत्प्रतिषेधे वर्णग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तृतीयापूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति; अनेते वर्णः इति वक्तव्यम्, इह मा भूत्, – हिमेन एतः हिमैतः

If the *sūtra Varṇō varṇēna* refers to *tṛtīyāsamāsa*, there is need to read *varṇa* in the *ētapratiṣēdhasūtra*. It should be made to convey the idea that in *tṛtīyāsamāsa*, *pūrvapada* takes the *prakṛtisvara* except when *ēta* is the second member, so that *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* may not appear in the compound *himāitaḥ* made up of *himēna* and *ētaḥ*.

अथ द्वितीयेन वर्णग्रहणेनैतविशेषणेनार्थः ?

Will it not serve the purpose if the second word *varṇēṣu* is made the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ēta* (by changing it into *varṇē*)?

बाढमर्थः, यद्यवर्ण एतशब्दोऽस्ति

Certainly will it serve the purpose if there is a word *ēta* which does not signify colour.

ननु चायमस्ति, आ इतः एतः कृष्णेतः लोहितेतः

Oh there is this *ētaḥ* which is formed by the combination of *ā* and *itaḥ* and it is used in the words *kṛṣṇētaḥ* and *lōhitētaḥ*.

नार्थ एवमर्थेन वर्णग्रहणेन । यदि तावदयं कर्मणि क्तः, तृतीया कर्मणि इत्यनेन स्वरेण भवितव्यम् । अथापि कर्तरि, परत्वात् क्तस्वरेण भवितव्यम्

1. The word *ētaḥ* means variegated colour.

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This *sūtra* (*Varṇō varṇēṣvanētē*) is not necessary in the above cases where *varṇa-vācaka* is used. If *taḥ* in *ētaḥ* (*ā + itaḥ*) is *karmaṇi*, *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* appears in *kṛṣṇētaḥ* by the *sūtra Tṛtīyā karmaṇi* (6, 2, 48); and if it is *kartari*, it is bound to take *kṛtsvara* on account of its being *para*.

अथ समानाधिकरणः Let it be *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa*.

समानाधिकरणे द्विर्वर्णग्रहणम्

If it is *samānādhikaraṇa*, there should be two words having the stem *varṇa*.

समानाधिकरणे द्विर्वर्णग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । वर्णो वर्णेष्वनेते इति वक्तव्यम् । एकं वर्णग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, इह मा भूत् - परमशुक्लः, परमकृष्णः इति । द्वितीयवर्णग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत् कृष्णतिला इति ।

If it refers to *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa*, both the words *varṇaḥ* and *varṇēna* have to be read; the *sūtra Varṇō varṇēṣvanētē* too has to be read. *Varṇēna* has to be read so that the *sūtra Varṇō varṇēṣu* may not operate in the words *paramaśuklaḥ* and *paramakṛṣṇaḥ* where *pradhāna* alone denotes colour and *varṇaḥ* has to be read so that the same *sūtra* may not operate in *kṛṣṇatilāḥ* where the *upasarjana* alone denotes colour.

NOTE:—If *varṇaḥ* alone is read, only the *upasarjana* member of the compound denotes *varṇa* and if *varṇēna* alone is read, only the *pradhāna* member denotes it.

एकं वर्णग्रहणमनर्थकम्

One *varṇa* - stemmed word (i. e. *varṇēṣu*) is not necessary.

अवर्णस्य वर्णे वर्णस्य चावर्णे अन्यतरत्र कस्मान्न भवति ?

Which will prevent the *sūtra* from operating if *varṇa* follows *avarṇa* or vice-versa?

लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव इति

The dictum *Lakṣaṇapratipadōktayōḥ pratipadōktasyāiva*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the *samāsa* secured by *Varṇō varṇēna* alone is taken in *svaravidhi* and hence *varṇēṣu* is not necessary.

एवं सति तान्येतानि त्रीणि वर्णग्रहणानि भवन्ति, समासविधौ द्वे, स्वरविधौ चैकम्

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In that case three *varṇa-stemmed words* will do, two in *samāsa-vidhi* and one in *svaravidhi.*

यस्यापि तृतीयासमासः तस्यापि तान्येव त्रीणि वर्णग्रहणानि भवन्ति, समासविधौ द्वे, स्वरविधौ चैकम्

Three *varṇa* - stemmed words will do even to him who holds *tṛtīyāsamāsatva*, two in *samāsavidhi* and one in *svaravidhi.*

सामान्येन मम तृतीयासमासो भविष्यति तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन इति

Tṛtīyāsamāsa is secured by me by the general rule *Tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthēna guṇavacanēna* (2, 1, 30).

अवश्यं वर्णेन प्रतिपदं समासो वक्तव्यो यत्र तेन न सिध्यति तदर्थम् ।

The *sūtra Varṇō varṇēna* is necessary to secure the *samāsa* which is not secured by that *sūtra.*

क्व च तेन न सिध्यति ?

What are the instances which are not accomplished by it ?

शुकबभ्रुः हरितबभ्रुः *Śukababhruḥ* and *harita-babhruḥ.*

तथा च सति तान्येतानि त्रीणि वर्णग्रहणानि भवन्ति, समासविधौ द्वे, स्वरविधौ चैकम् ।

If so, the same three *varṇa*-stemmed words are necessary, two in *samāsavidhi* and one in *svaravidhi.*

अथेदानीं समानाधिकरणः सामान्येन सिद्धः स्यात् ?

If it is taken as *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa,* will the forms be secured by any general rule ?

बाढं सिद्धः Certainly can they be secured.

कथम् ? On what authority ?

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् इति

By the *sūtra Viśēṣaṇam viśēṣyēṇa bahulam* (2, 1, 57).

एवमपि द्वे वर्णग्रहणे कर्तव्ये, स्वरविधावेव प्रतिपदोक्तस्याभावात्

Even then two *varṇa-stemmed words* are necessary in *svara-vidhi* alone on account of the absence of *pratipadōkta.*

तस्मात् समानाधिकरण इत्येष पक्षो ज्यायान्

Hence *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa-pakṣa* is better.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that this *sūtra* is not needed then.

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II

समानाधिकरणाधिकारे प्रधानोपसर्जनानां परं परं विप्रतिषेधेन

In the *samāsa* between two words stated to be *pradhānas* in two different *sūtras* in the *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra*, the latter is *pradhāna* through *para-vipratiṣēdha* and in that between two *upasarjanas*, the latter is *upasarjana*.

समानाधिकरणाधिकारे प्रधानोपसर्जनानां परं परं भवति विप्रतिषेधेन - प्रधानानां प्रधानम्, उपसर्जनानामुपसर्जनम् । प्रधानानां तावत् प्रधानं - बृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् इत्यस्य अवकाशः गोबृन्दारकः, अश्वबृन्दारकः; पोटायुवतीनामवकाशः इभ्ययुवतिः, आढ्ययुवतिः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति - नागयुवतिः, बृन्दारकयुवतिः, प्रधानानां परं प्रधानं भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । उपसर्जनानां परमुपसर्जनम् - सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टा इत्यस्य अवकाशः सद्गवः, सदश्वः; कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या इत्यस्य अवकाशः तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यकृष्णः; इहोभयं प्राप्नोति - तुल्यसन्, तुल्यमहान्; उपसर्जनानां परमुपसर्जनं भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

In the *samāsas* of two words which are *pradhāna* and *upasarjana* in two different *sūtras* having the *anuvṛtti* of *samānādhikaraṇa*, the latter among *pradhāna* and the latter among *upasarjana* is respectively taken to be *pradhāna* and *upasarjana* through *vipratiṣēdha*. Firstly with reference to the *pradhāna* among *pradhānas* :–The *sūtra Vṛndāraka-nāga-kuñjarāiḥ pūjyamānam* (2, 1, 62) operates in *gō-vṛndārakaḥ* and *aśvavṛndārakaḥ*, the *sūtra Pōṭā-yuvati*...(2, 1, 65) in *ibhya-yuvatiḥ* and *āḍhya-yuvatiḥ* and both the *sūtras* have a chance to operate in *nāga-yuvatiḥ* and *vṛndāraka-yuvatiḥ*. The *pradhāna* in the latter should be considered *pradhāna* here by *para-vipratiṣēdha*. With reference to *upasarjana* among *upasarjanas* the *sūtra San-mahat-paramō-tkṛṣṭāḥ*.... (2, 1, 61) operates in *sad-gavaḥ* and *sad-aśvaḥ*, the *sūtra Kṛtya-tulyākhyā ajātyā* (2, 1, 68) in *tulya-śvētaḥ* and *tulya-kṛṣṇaḥ* and both have a chance to operate in *tulya-san* and *tulya-mahān*. The *upasarjana* in the latter should be considered *upasarjana* here through *para-vipratiṣēdha*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, in *samāsa*, *pradhāna* and *upasarjana* denote *tṛtīyānta* and *prathamānta* by *lakṣaṇā*.

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III

समानाधिकरणसमासाद् बहुव्रीहिः

Bahuvrīhi overrides *samānādhikaraṇasamāsa.*

समानाधिकरणसमासाद् बहुव्रीहिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । समानाधिकरणसमासस्य अवकाशः वीरः पुरुषो वीरपुरुषः; बहुव्रीहेरवकाशः कण्ठेकालः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः, बहुव्रीहिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

Bahuvrīhi overrides *samānādhikaraṇasamāsa* through *vipratiṣēdha. Samānādhikaraṇasamāsa* takes place when *vīraḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* compound into *vīrapuruṣaḥ* and *bahuvrīhi* takes place in *kaṇṭhēkālaḥ*. In *vīrapuruṣaka* of the phrase *Vīrapuruṣakō grāmaḥ, bahuvrīhi* overrides *samānādhikaraṇasamāsa* through *vipratiṣēdha*, when both have a chance to operate.

कदाचित् कर्मधारयः सर्वधनाद्यर्थः

Sometimes *karmadhāraya* overrides for the sake of securing the forms *sarvadhanī* etc.

कदाचित् कर्मधारयो भवति बहुव्रीहेः

Sometimes *karmadhāraya* overrides *bahuvrīhi.*

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

सर्वधनाद्यर्थः । सर्वधनी, सर्वबीजी, सर्वकेशी नटः, गौरखरवदरण्यम्, गौरमृगवदरण्यम्, कृष्णसर्पवान् वल्मीकः, लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः

For the sake of *sarvadhanādi.* (i. e.) To secure the forms *sarvadhanī, sarvabījī, sarvakēśī* (in *sarvakēśī naṭaḥ*), *gāurakharavad araṇyam, gāuramṛgavad araṇyam, kṛṣṇasarpavān valmīkaḥ* and *lōhitaśālimān grāmaḥ.*

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why should they be secured?

कर्मधारयप्रकृतिभिर्मत्वर्थीयैरभिधानं यथा स्यात्

So that *matvarthapratyayas* may be suffixed to the *prakṛti* which is *karmadhāraya.*

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why cannot they appear (in the absence of this *vacana*)?

बहुव्रीहिणोक्तत्वान्मत्वर्थस्य

Since *matvartha* is conveyed by *bahuvrīhi.*

यद्युक्तत्वं हेतुः कर्मधारयेणाप्युक्तत्वान्न प्राप्नोति

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If *uktatva* is *hētu*, it has no chance to come since it is *ukta* by *karmadhāraya* too.

न खल्वपि संज्ञाश्रयो मत्वर्थीयः

Matvarthīya is not based on *saṁjñā*.

किं तर्हि? Upon what then?

अर्थाश्रयः । स यथैव बहुव्रीहिणा उक्तत्वान्न भवत्येवं कर्मधारयेणोक्तत्वान्न भविष्यन्ति ।

It is based upon meaning. *Matvarthīya* does not appear since it is *ukta* by *karmadhāraya* in the same way as it is does appear when its meaning is conveyed by *bahuvrīhi*.

एवं तर्हि इदं स्यात् - सर्वाणि धनानि, सर्वधनानि, सर्वधनानि अस्य सन्ति सर्वधनी ।

If so, let it be in this manner:—*Sarvāṇi* and *dhanāni* compound into the *karmadhāraya sarva-dhanāni* and *sarvadhanī* is formed in the sense *sarvadhanāni asya santi*.

नैवं शक्यम् । नित्यमेवं सति कर्मधारयः स्यात् । तत्र यदुक्तं कदाचित् कर्मधारयः इति एतदयुक्तम्

No, it is not possible. It can be so if *karmadhāraya* is *nitya*. The word *kadācit* in the statement *kadācit karmadhārayaḥ* mentioned above cannot fit in.

एवं तर्हि भवति वै किञ्चिदाचार्याः कार्यवद्बुद्धिं कृत्वा पठन्ति कार्याः शब्दा इति, तद्वदिदं पठितं समानाधिकरणसमासाद् बहुव्रीहिः कर्तव्यः कदाचित् कर्मधारयः सर्वधनाद्यर्थं इति

If so, *karmadhārayaḥ* in the statement *Samānādhikaraṇsamāsād bahuvrīhiḥ kartavyaḥ kadācit karmadhārayaḥ sarvadhanādyarthaḥ* is used in the sense of *karmadhārayavān* in the same way as *kāryāḥ* in the statement *kāryāḥ śabdāḥ* which *ācāryas* have used in the sense of *kāryavantaḥ*.

यद् उच्यते समानाधिकरणसमासाद् बहुव्रीहिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेनेति, नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः अन्तरङ्गः कर्मधारयः ।

The statement that *bahuvrīhi* overrides *samānādhikaraṇa-samāsa* through *para-vipratiṣēdha* does not hold good, since *vipratiṣēdhaśāstra* does not operate on account of *karma-dhāraya* being *antaraṅga*.

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कान्तरङ्गता ? How is *antaraṅgatva* be explained ?

स्वपदार्थे कर्मधारयः, अन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहिः

The component parts of the *karmadhāraya* convey their own meanings; but those of *bahuvrīhi* convey that of another.

अस्तु । विभाषा कर्मधारयः ; यदा न कर्मधारयस्तदा बहुव्रीहिर्भविष्यति

Let it be. *Karmadhāraya* is optional; *bahuvrīhi* appears in the absence of *karmadhāraya*.

एवमपि यद्यत्र कदाचित् कर्मधारयो भवति, कर्मधारयप्रकृतिभिर्मत्वर्थीयैरभिधानं प्राप्नोति । सर्वश्चायमेवमर्थो यत्नः कर्मधारयप्रकृतिभिर्मत्वर्थीयैरभिधानं मा भूद् इति ।

If so, when perhaps *karmadhāraya* is first formed (without the idea that the compound should refer to *anyapadārtha*), it may chance to take *matvarthīyapratyaya* after it; if, at second thought, it has to refer to *anyapadārtha*, this attempt is to prevent the use of *matvarthīyas* after *karmadhāraya* stems (on all occasions).

एवं तर्हि नेदं तस्य योगस्य उदाहरणं विप्रतिषेधे परम् इति

If so, this *sūtra* is not the target for the *sūtra Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*.

किं तर्हि ? Of what then ?

इष्टिरियं पठिता, समानाधिकरणसमासाद्बहुव्रीहिरिष्टः कदाचित् कर्मधारयः सर्वधनाद्यर्थः

This *iṣṭi Samānādhikaraṇasamāsād bahuvrīhir iṣṭaḥ kadācit karmadhārayaḥ sarvadhanādyarthaḥ* is read (by *Vārttikakāra*). It means that generally *bahuvrīhi* is wished for from *karmadhāraya* stems and in certain cases like *sarvadhanin matvarthapratyayas* may be used after them.

यदीष्टिः पठिता नार्थोऽनेन । इह हि सर्वे मनुष्या अल्पेनाल्पेन महतो महतोऽर्थानाकाङ्क्षन्ति ; एकेन माषेण शतसहस्रम् । एकेन कुद्दालपदेन खारीसहस्रम् । तत्र कर्मधारयप्रकृतिभिर्मत्वर्थीयैरभिधानमस्तु बहुव्रीहिणेति । बहुव्रीहिणा भविष्यति लघुत्वात् ।

If *iṣṭi* is read, it serves no purpose. For all the people in this world wish to get the most from the least, as hundred thousand (cows or cloths) for a small piece of gold or 16000 *ḍrōṇas* of corn at one dig of a spade. If the question arises whether

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to add *matvarthīya-pratyayas* to *karmadhāraya* stems or to use *bahuvrīhi*, the latter is to be chosen since it is lighter.

कथं सर्वधनी सर्वबीजी सर्वकेशी नट इति ?

How, then, is one to arrive at the forms *sarvadhanī*, *sarvabījī* and *sarvakēśī* in *sarvakēśī naṭaḥ ?*

इनिप्रकरणे सर्वादेरिति वक्ष्यामि । तच्च अवश्यं वक्तव्यं ठनो बाधनार्थम्

I shall read that *karmadhāraya* compounds having *sarva* as the former member take *ini* by reading *sarvādēḥ* in *ini-prakaraṇa* (i.e.) under the *sūtra Pūrvād iniḥ* (5, 2, 56). It should necessarily be read to set at naught *ṭhan.*

कथम् गौरखरवद् अरण्यम्, गौरमृगवद् अरण्यम्, कृष्णसर्पवान् वल्मीकः, लोहितशालिमान् ग्रामः ?

How are the forms *gāurakharavad*, *gāuramṛgavad*, *kṛṣṇasarpavān* and *lōhitaśālimān* in the following expressions *gāurakharavad araṇyam*, *gāuramṛgavad araṇyam*, *kṛṣṇasarpavān valmīkaḥ* and *lōhitaśālimān grāmaḥ* secured ?

अस्त्यत्र विशेषः । जात्या अत्राभिसम्बन्धः क्रियते, कृष्णसर्पो नाम सर्पजातिः, सा अस्मिन् वल्मीके अस्ति । यदा ह्यन्तरेण जातिं तद्वत्ताभिसम्बन्धः क्रियते, कृष्णसर्पो वल्मकि इत्येव तदा भवति ।

There is a speciality here. It is taken as a class ; *kṛṣṇasarpa* is a species of serpents. *Kṛṣṇasarpavān valmīkaḥ* means an anthill containing the *jāti* of *kṛṣṇasarpa*. If their relation is to be expressed without *kṛṣṇasarpa* denoting the *jāti*, *kṛṣṇa-sarpō valmīkaḥ* will do.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that the *bhāṣya* " *Yadi iṣṭiḥ... ityēva tadā bhavati* " expresses the opinion of *Ācāryadēśīya*.

IV

पूर्वपदातिशये आतिशायिकाद् बहुव्रीहिः सूक्ष्मवस्त्रतराद्यर्थः

Bahuvrīhi after *atiśāyana-pratyaya* where the *atiśaya* of *pūrva-pada* is intended.

पूर्वपदातिशयविवक्षायामातिशायिकाद् बहुव्रीहिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

When the *atiśaya* of *pūrvapada* (of a *karmadhāraya*) is intended, *bahuvrīhi* sets in after the *atiśāyana-pratyaya* through *viprati-ṣēdha*.

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किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

सूक्ष्मवस्त्रतराद्यर्थः For the sake of *sūkṣmavastratara* etc.

आतिशायिकस्यावकाशः - पटुतरः, पटुतमः । बहुव्रीहेरवकाशः - चित्रगुः, शबलगुः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति - सूक्ष्मवस्त्रतरः, तीक्ष्णश्रृङ्गतरः - बहुव्रीहिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

The *sūtras Dvivacana-vibhajyōpapadē tarab-īyasunāu* (5, 3, 57) and *Atiśāyanē-tamab-iṣṭhanāu* (5, 3, 55) operate in *paṭutaraḥ* and *paṭutamaḥ*. The *sūtra* enjoining *bahuvrīhi* operates in *citraguḥ* and *śabalaguḥ*. Here, in *sūkṣmavastrataraḥ* and *tīṣkṇaśṛṅgataraḥ*, both have a chance to operate. The *bahuvrīhisūtra* operates through *vipratiṣēdha*.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युच्यते ; पूर्वश्च बहुव्रीहिः, पर आतिशायिकः

The dictum of *vipratiṣēdha* cannot hold here. *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam* is read; but *bahuvrīhi-vidhi* is *pūrva* and *ātiśāyana-pratyaya-vidhi* is *para*.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः - विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद् भवतीति

The word *para* means *iṣṭa*. Hence the dictum means *Vipratiṣēdhē yad iṣṭam tad bhavati*.

एवमप्ययुक्तः ; अन्तरङ्ग आतिशायिकः

Even then it is not correct; the rule enjoining *ātiśāyana-pratyaya* is *antaraṅga*.

का अन्तरङ्गता? How does *antaraṅgatva* exist there?

ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादातिशायिकः, सुबन्तानां बहुव्रीहिः

Ātiśāyana-pratyaya-vidhi is to *ṅyanta*, *ābanta* and *prātipadika*, while *bahuvrīhi-vidhi* is to *subanta*.

आतिशायिकोऽपि नान्तरङ्गः *Ātiśāyika-vidhi* too, is not *antaraṅga*.

कथम्? How?

समर्थात्तद्धित उत्पद्यते, सामर्थ्यं च सुबन्तेन

Taddhita-pratyaya is added only to that which is *samartha* and there is *sāmarthya* only with *subanta*.

एवमप्यन्तरङ्गः Even then, it is *antaraṅga*.

कथम्? How?

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स्वपदार्थे आतिशायिकः, अन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहिः
Atiśāyika refers to *svapadārtha* and *bahuvrīhi* to *anyapadārtha*.

एवमपि नान्तरङ्गः Even then it is not *antaraṅga*.

कथम्? How?

स्पर्धायामातिशायिको भवति, न चान्तरेण प्रतियोगिनं स्पर्धा भवति
Atiśāyika operates only when there is comparison and there is no comparison in the absence of another with whom it is to be compared.

नैव वात्रातिशयिकः प्राप्नोति
Or, *ātiśāyana-pratyaya-vidhi* does not operate here.

किं कारणम्? Why?

असामर्थ्यात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? How is *sāmarthya* absent?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति । यावता वस्त्राणि तद्वन्तमपेक्षन्ते तद्वन्तं चापेक्ष्य वस्त्राणां वस्त्रैर्युगपत् स्पर्धा भवति ।
That which is *sāpēkṣa* is *asamartha*. There is comparison between cloths only after it is determined to whom they belong.

ननु चायमातिशायिक एवमात्मकः सत्यां व्यपेक्षायां विधीयते
Oh! *ātiśāyana-pratyaya* of this sort is enjoined when there is *vyapēkṣā-lakṣaṇa-sāmarthya*.

सत्यमेवमात्मकः, यां च नान्तरेण व्यपेक्षामातिशायिकस्य प्रवृत्तिः तस्यां सत्यां भवितव्यम्
True, *ātiśāyana-pratyaya* is of this nature, that it cannot be used unless there is the *vyapēkṣā-lakṣaṇa-sāmarthya* which it needs.

कां च नान्तरेण व्यपेक्षामातिशायिकस्य प्रवृत्तिः?
Without which *vyapēkṣā* is there no *pravṛtti* for *ātiśāyika*?

या हि प्रतियोगिनं प्रति व्यपेक्षा । या हि तद्वन्तं प्रति न तस्यां भवितव्यम्
The *vyapēkṣā* relating to the cloths belonging to different persons. But where the *vyapēkṣā* relates to the cloths belonging to the same person, it does not hold good.

बहुव्रीहिरपि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति *Bahuvrīhi*, too, cannot set in there.

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किं कारणम्? Why?

असामर्थ्यादेव Evidently thro' *a-sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? How is *sāmarthya* absent?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति। यावता वस्त्राणि वस्त्रान्तराण्यपेक्षन्ते तद्वता चाभिसम्बन्धः

Sāpēkṣa becomes *asamartha*, since cloths depend upon others for comparison and they are related to their owners.

एवं तर्हि नेदं तस्य योगस्योदाहरणं विप्रतिषेधे परमिति

This, then, is not the target to *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam.*

किं तर्हि? Of what then?

इष्टिरियं पठिता पूर्वपदातिशये आतिशायिकाद् बहुव्रीहिरिष्टः सूक्ष्मवस्त्रतराद्यर्थः

This *iṣṭi* is read. "*Pūrvapadātiśayē ātiśāyikād bahuvrīhir iṣṭaḥ sūkṣmavastratarādyarthaḥ.*"

यदि इष्टिरियं पठिता नार्थोऽनेन

If the *iṣṭi* is read, no purpose is served by it.

कथं यैषा युक्तिरुक्ता - वस्त्रान्तराणां च वस्त्रान्तरैर्युगपत् स्पर्धा तद्वता च चाभिसम्बन्धः इति?

How can the *iṣṭi* serve no purpose if the *yukti* that there is *spardhā* simultaneously between one kind of cloths and another and they are then related to the owners is adduced?

यदा हि अन्तरेण वस्त्राणां वस्त्रान्तरैः युगपत्स्पर्धां तद्वता अभिसम्बन्धः क्रियते निष्प्रतिद्वन्द्वस्तदा बहुव्रीहिः, बहुव्रीहेरातिशायिकः

If the relation of one set of cloths with their owner and that of another set with their owner is first taken into account without comparing one set with another, *bahuvrīhi* is done without any opposing element and then the *ātiśāyana-pratyaya* is added.

न तर्हि इदानीमिदं भवति सूक्ष्मतरवस्त्र इति?

Will not then (*iṣṭyārambhē*) the form *sūkṣmataravastraḥ* be secured?

भवति, यदान्तरेण तद्वन्तं वस्त्राणां वस्त्रान्तरैर्युगपत् स्पर्धा भवति, निष्प्रतिद्वन्द्वस्तदा आतिशायिकः

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It is secured. If comparison takes place between one set of cloths with another without reference to their owners, *ātiśā-yika-pratyaya* is added without any opposition.

कथं पुनरन्यस्य प्रकर्षेणान्यस्य प्रकर्षः स्यात्?

How can the superiority of one suggest that of another?

नैवान्यस्य प्रकर्षेण अन्यप्रकर्षेण भवितव्यम् । यथैवायं द्रव्येषु यतते वस्त्राणि मे स्युरिति, एवं गुणेष्वपि यतते सूक्ष्मतराणि मे स्युः इति

The superiority of one does not suggest that of another. As one chooses cloths, so also he chooses quality to get for him cloths of finer quality.

नात्रातिशायिकः प्राप्नोति *Ātiśāyika-pratyaya* may not set in then.

किं कारणम्? Why?

गुणवचनादिष्यते । न च समासो गुणवचनः

It is enjoined after words denoting quality (in *Ajādi guṇa-vacanād ēva* 5, 3, 58). The compound is not *guṇavacana*.

समासोऽपि गुणवचनः *Samāsa*, too, is *guṇavacana*.

कथम्? How?

अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिरिति By taking to *ajahatsvārthā-vṛtti*.

अथ जहत्स्वार्थायां तु दोष एव

The difficulty will evidently exist in *jahatsvārthā*.

जहत्स्वार्थायां च न दोषः । भवति बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि तद्यथा - शुक्लवाससमानय, लोहितोष्णीषाः प्रचरन्ति इति तद्गुण आनीयते, तद्गुणाश्च प्रचरन्ति

There is no difficulty even in *jahatsvārthā*. Among *bahuvrīhis*, there is *tadguṇasaṁvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* too. If one says 'Bring the white-clothed man,' the man who wears an white cloth alone is brought; if one says 'Red-turbaned persons go,' only those with red turbans go.

V

उत्तरपदातिशय आतिशायिको बहुव्रीहेर्बह्वाढ्यतराद्यर्थः

Ātiśāyana-pratyaya is used after *bahuvrīhi* when the *atiśaya* of the latter member is intended to secure *bahvāḍhyatara* etc.

उत्तरपदातिशये आतिशायिको बहुव्रीहेर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

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Ātiśāyana-pratyaya is used after *bahuvrīhi* when the *atiśaya* of the latter member is intended through *vipratiṣēdha*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

बह्वाढ्यतराद्यर्थः - बह्वाढ्यतरः, बहुसुकुमारतरः

For the sake of securing the forms like *bahvāḍhyataraḥ* and *bahusukumārataraḥ*.

कः पुनरत्र विशेषो, बहुव्रीहेर्वातिशायिकः स्याद्, आतिशायिकान्तेन वा बहुव्रीहिः?

What is the difference whether *ātiśāyika-pratyaya* is used after *bahuvrīhi* or *bahuvrīhi* is formed with *ātiśāyikānta*?

स्वरकपोर्विशेषः । यद्यत्र आतिशायिकाद् बहुव्रीहिः स्यात् बह्वाढ्यतरः, एवं स्वरः प्रसज्येत, बह्वाढ्यतरः इति चेष्यते । बह्वाढ्यकतर इति च प्राप्नोति, बह्वाढ्यतरक इति चेष्यते

There will be difference in the position of *udātta* and *kap*. If *bahuvrīhi* is formed after the appearance of the *ātiśāyika-pratyaya*, the *udātta* will be on *ya* in *bahvāḍhyatara*, but it is desired to be on *ra*; besides the form of the finished word would be *bahvāḍhyakatara* though the desired form is *bahvāḍhyataraka*.

VI

समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानमुत्तरपदलोपश्च

Need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *śākapārthiva* etc. in the *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra* and that of the elision of *uttarapada*.

समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्; उत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः - शाकभोजी पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः, कुतपवासाः सौश्रुतः कुतपसौश्रुतः, अजापण्यस्तौल्वलिः अजातौल्वलिः, यष्टिप्रधानो मौद्गल्यः यष्टिमौद्गल्यः ।

Addition of *Śākapārthiva* etc. in *samānādhikaraṇādhikāra* has to be made and the elision of the latter member is to be enjoined. *Viz.* *śākabhōjī* and *pārthivaḥ* compound into *śākapārthivaḥ*, *kutapavāsāḥ* and *sāuśrutaḥ* into *kutapasāuśrutaḥ*, *ajāpaṇyaḥ* and *taulvaliḥ* into *ajātāulvaliḥ* and *yaṣṭiprādhānaḥ* and *māudgalyaḥ* into *yaṣṭimāudgalyaḥ*.

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चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या (2, 1, 71)

चतुष्पाज्जातिः *Catuṣpājjāteḥ* in place of *catuṣpādaḥ*.

चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम्; इह मा भूत् कालाक्षी गर्भिणी, स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी

The word *catuṣpādaḥ* must be replaced by *catuṣpājjāteḥ* so that the *sūtra* may not operate here in *kālākṣī garbhiṇī* and *svastimatī garbhiṇī*.

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च (2, 1, 72)

किमर्थश्चकारः ? What is the meaning of *ca* (in the *sūtra*)?

एवकारार्थः - मयूरव्यंसकादय एव

It means *ēva*, so that the *sūtra* means *Mayūravyaṁsakādaya ēva*.

क्व मा भूत् ? Where should it not be?

परमो मयूरव्यंसक इति In *paramaḥ mayūravyaṁsakaḥ*.

TWENTYFIRST ĀHNIKA ENDS
(Second *adhyāya*, first *pāda*, ends)

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Twentysecond Āhnika

(Second *adhyāya*, second *pāda*, first *āhnika*)

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् (2, 2, 2)

इह कस्मान्न भवति - ग्रामार्द्धः, नगरार्द्ध इति?

Why does not this operate in *grāmārddhaḥ* and *nagarārddhaḥ*?

अर्द्धशब्दस्य नपुंसकलिङ्गस्येदं ग्रहणं, पुँल्लिङ्गश्चात्रायमर्द्धशब्दः

Arddha in neuter gender is stated in the *sūtra* and *arddha* in masculine gender is used there.

क्व पुनरयं नपुंसकलिंङ्गः, क्व पुँल्लिङ्गः?

In which meaning is it neuter in gender and in which is it masculine?

समप्रविभागे नपुंसकलिङ्गः, अवयववाची पुँल्लिङ्गः

It is neuter if it means *half* and masculine if it means *a part.*

इह कस्मान्न भवति, अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् इति?

Why does not the *sūtra* operate in *Arddham pippalīnām*?

न वा भवति अर्द्धपिप्पल्य इति?

Does it not take the form *arddhapippalyaḥ*?

भवति, यदा खण्डसमुच्चयः - अर्द्धपिप्पली च अर्द्धपिप्पली च अर्द्धपिप्पली च अर्द्धपिप्पल्य इति। यदा त्वेतद्वाक्यं भवति अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् इति तदा न भवितव्यम्

It does take the form *arddhapippalyaḥ* if it means collection of half pieces of *pippalī* and has the *vigrahavākya* - *arddhapippalī ca arddhapippalī ca, arddhapippalī ca* and it does not take the same form, if the *vākya* is *arddham pippalīnām*.

तदा कस्मान्न भवति? Why does not that form appear then?

एकाधिकरण इति वर्तते

There is *anuvṛtti* for the word *ēkādhikaraṇē* (from 2, 2, 1)

न तर्हीदानीमिदं भवति अर्द्धराशिरिति?

If so, cannot the word *arddharāśiḥ* be secured?

भवति, एकमेवेदमधिकरणं योऽसौ राशिर्नाम

It is secured; evidently those which constitute *rāśi* have there only one *adhikaraṇa* (the *jāti* in each grain).

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द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् (2, 2, 3)

अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं किमर्थम् [1] Why is *anyatarasyām* read ?

अन्यतरस्यां समासो यथा स्यात् - समासेन मुक्ते वाक्यमपि यथा स्याद् द्वितीयं भिक्षाया इति

To make the *samāsa* optional and to allow the phrase *dvitīyam bhikṣāyāḥ* in the absence of the *samāsa*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रकृता महाविभाषा, तया वाक्यमपि भविष्यति

No, this is not the benefit. There is *mahāvibhāṣā* by *Vibhāṣā* (2, 1, 11) and the phrase stands through it.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । एकदेशिसमासेन मुक्ते षष्ठीसमासो यथा स्याद् भिक्षाद्वितीयमिति

If so, the benefit is that, in the absence of *ēkadēśi-samāsa*, *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* of the form *bhikṣā-dvitīyam* may appear.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अयमपि विभाषा, षष्ठीसमासोऽपि । तावुभौ वचनाद्भविष्यतः ।

This, too, is not the *prayōjana*. This is optional and *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa* too. Hence *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsa* and the phrase both will appear.

अत उत्तरं पठति *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) answers thus.

द्वितीयादीनां विभाषाप्रकरणे विभाषावचनं ज्ञापकमवयवविधाने सामान्यविधानाभावस्य

Reading of the word *anyatarasyām* with reference to *dvitīyā* etc. in *vibhāṣāprakaraṇa* suggests that *sāmānyavidhi* does not operate when there is *viśēṣavidhi*.

द्वितीयादीनां विभाषाप्रकरणे विभाषावचनं क्रियते, ज्ञापनार्थम्

The word *anyatarasyām* is read in *vibhāṣā-prakaraṇa* with reference to *dvitīyā* etc. for the sake of *jñāpana*.

किं ज्ञाप्यते ? What is suggested ?

एतद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्न भवतीति

Ācārya (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that *sāmānyavidhi* does not operate at the time when *viśēṣavidhi* operates.

1. *Cf.* Pp. 242 and 243.

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किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the *prayōjana* of this *jñāpana?*

भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति इति, श्नमि कृते शप्न भवतीति

When the rule *Rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* (3, 1, 78) operates with reference to *bhinatti* and *chinatti*, the general rule *Kartari śap* (3, 1, 68) does not operate.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्; शबादेशाः श्यन्नादयः करिष्यन्ते

This is not the benefit. *Śyan* etc. are read as the *ādēśa* of *śap*.

तत्तर्हि शपोग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Śapaḥ is then to be read in *Rudhādibhyaḥ śnam.*

न कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतमनुवर्तते

No, it need not. It is taken by *anuvṛtti* from the context.

क्व प्रकृतम्? What is it which is *prakṛta*?

कर्तरि शब् इति The *sūtra Kartari śap.*

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं, षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः

It is in the first case there and the sixth case is wanted here.

रुधादिभ्यः इत्येषा पञ्चमी शबिति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयिष्यति तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति

The *pañcamī* in the word *rudhādibhyaḥ* enables the *prathamā śap* change to *ṣaṣṭhī* by the *paribhāṣā Tasmād ityuttarasya.*

प्रत्ययविधिरयं, न च प्रत्ययविधौ पञ्चम्यः प्रकल्पिका भवन्ति

This is *pratyaya-vidhi* and *pañcamī* in *pratyaya-vidhi* cannot enable *prathamā* change to *ṣaṣṭhī.*

नायं प्रत्ययविधिः । विहितः प्रत्ययः [1] प्रकृतश्चानुवर्तते ।

This is not *pratyaya-vidhi.* The *pratyaya* enjoined elsewhere is taken here by *anuvṛtti.*

एवं तर्हि ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः यत्रोत्सर्गापवादं विभाषा तत्रापवादेन मुक्ते उत्सर्गो न भवति इति

If so, *Ācārya* suggests that, where there is *vibhāṣā* between a general rule and its exception, the general rule cannot operate in the absence of the exception.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit of this *jñāpana*?

दिक्पूर्वपदान्ङीष् - प्राङ्मुखी, प्राङ्मुखा; प्रत्यङ्मुखी, प्रत्यङ्मुखा । ङीपा मुक्ते ङीष् न भवति ।

1. *Prakṛta ēva* is another reading.

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Ṅīp takes the place of *ṅīṣ* so that *prāṅmukhī* and *pratyaṅmukhī* are secured. Since it is optional (by the *anuvṛtti* of *vā* from *Asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā* 4, 1, 53), we get the forms *prāṅmukhā* and *pratyaṅmukhā* and not the forms with *ṅīṣ*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतद् दिक्पूर्वपदान्ङीषोऽनुदात्तत्वम् । ङीब्विधाने ह्यन्यत्रापि ङीब्विषयाद् ङीप्प्रसङ्ग इति ।

This is not the *prayōjana*. *Vārttikakāra* is going to read (under *Dik...ṅīp* 4, 1, 60) the *vārttikas Dikpūrvapadān ṅīṣōsnudāttatvam, Ṅībvidhānē hyanyatrāpi ṅīṣviṣayād ṅīp-prasaṅgaḥ.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अर्द्धपिप्पली, अर्द्धकोशातकी, एकदेशिसमासेन मुक्ते षष्ठीसमासो न भवति । उन्मत्तगङ्गं, लोहितगङ्गम्, अव्ययीभावेन मुक्ते बहुव्रीहिर्न भवति । दाक्षिः प्लाक्षिः, इञा मुक्तेऽण् न भवति

If so, this is the *prayōjana* :—There is no *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* in the absence of *ēkadēśisamāsa*, *arddhapippalī* and *arddhakōśātakī*; there is no *bahuvrīhi* in the absence of *avyayībhāva unmattagaṅgam* and *lōhitagaṅgam* ; and there is no *aṇ* in the absence of *iñ* in *Dākṣiḥ* and *Plākṣiḥ*.

यद्येतद् ज्ञाप्यते, उपगोरपत्यम् औपगवः, ताद्धितेन मुक्ते उपग्वपत्यम् इति न सिध्यति

If it is so suggested, *Upagvapatyam* cannot be secured in the absence of *taddhitānta Āupagavaḥ* from *Upagōḥ apatyam*.

अस्त्यत्र विशेषः - द्वे ह्यत्र विभाषे, दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुग्रिकाण्ठेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्, समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा इति । तत्र एकया वृत्तिर्विभाषा, अपरया वृत्तिविषये विभाषापवादः

There is a special feature here :—Here are two *vibhāṣās*:— *Dāivayajñi-śāucivṛkṣi - sātyamugri - kāṇṭhēviddhibhyōsnyatarasyām* 4, 1, 81) and *Samarthānām prathamād vā* (4, 1, 82). Through one there is *vibhāṣā* of *vṛtti* and through another there is the *apavāda* of *vibhāṣā* with reference to *vṛtti* (*ēkārthībhāva*).

क्रियमाणेऽपि वै अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणे षष्ठीसमासो न प्राप्नोति

Even on reading *anyatarasyām ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* may not set in.

किं कारणम्? Why?

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[1] पूरणगुणेन इति प्रतिषेधात्
Through the *pratiṣēdha Pūraṇa-guṇa*...(2, 2, 11).

नैतद् पूरणान्तम्, अनैतत्पर्यवपन्नम्
This (*dvitīyaḥ* etc.) is not *pūraṇapratyayānta*, since *tīya* is separated from *anta* by *an* (by *Pūraṇād bhāgē tīyād an* 5, 3, 48.)

एतदपि पूरणान्तमेव This, too, is certainly *pūraṇapratyayānta*.

कथम्? How?

पूरणं नामार्थः; तमाह तीयशब्दः; अतः पूरणम्; योऽसौ पूरणान्तात् स्वार्थे भागेऽन्, सोऽपि पूरणमेव
Pūraṇa stands for *pūraṇārtha*. The suffix *tīya* conveys it; hence it is *pūraṇa*; the *an* coming after *pūraṇānta* in *svārtha* is also *pūraṇa*.

एवं तर्हि अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति ।
If so, *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* sets in on account of the *sāmarthya* of the reading of *anyatarasyām*.

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया (2, 2, 4)

किमर्थश्चकारः Why is *cakāra* read?

चकारोऽनुकर्षणार्थः *Cakāra* is to attract another.

किमनुकृष्यते? What is attracted?

अन्यतरस्यामित्येतदनुकृष्यते *Anyatarasyam* is attracted.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

अन्यतरस्यां समासो यथा स्यात्, समासेन मुक्ते वाक्यमपि यथा स्याद् जीविकां प्राप्तः इति
So that *samāsa* may set in optionally and so that the phrase *jīvikām prāptaḥ* too may stand in its absence.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रकृता महाविभाषा, तया वाक्यमपि भविष्यति ।
This is not the benefit. There is the *adhikāra* for *mahāvibhāṣā*, which may enable the phrase too stand.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्, द्वितीयासमासोऽपि यथा स्यात् जीविकाप्राप्त इति
If so, this is the *prayōjana* that there may be the *dvitīyāsamāsa jīvikāprāptaḥ* too.

1. *Pūraṇēna* is another reading.

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एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अयमप्युच्यते, द्वितीयासमासोऽपि, तदुभयं वचनाद् भविष्यति

This too is not the *prayōjana*. The use of the phrase is stated and also that of *dvitīyāsamāsa*; both are secured by *sūtras* already read.

एवं तर्हि नायमनुकर्षणार्थश्चकारः

Cakāra is not then to attract another.

किं तर्हि? What for then?

अत्वमनेन विधीयते - प्राप्तापन्ने द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते, अत्वं च भवति प्राप्तापन्नयोः इति - प्राप्ता जीविकां, प्राप्तजीविका; आपन्ना जीविकाम्, आपन्नजीविका

Atva is enjoined by this. The *sūtra* means that the words *prāptā* and *āpannā* compound with a noun in the second case and the final *ā* of *prāptā* and *āpannā* is changed to *a*. Hence *prāptā* and *jīvikām* compound into *prāptajīvikā* and *āpannā* and *jīvikām* into *āpannajīvikā*.

NOTE:—If so, the *sūtra* has to be read *Prāptāpannēsca dvitīyā*. But *Bhaṭṭōjidīkṣita* reads *dvitīyayā* into *dvītayayā a*.

कालाः परिमाणिना (2, 2, 5)

There are *four* topics here:–(1) Which member in *māsajātaḥ* is *pradhāna*? (2) How is it that *jātasya* is *ṣaṣṭhī* in *vākya* and it changes to *prathamā* in *samāsa*? (3) Is *māsa parimāṇa* of *jāta*? (4) Need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *ēkavacana-dvigu*.

I

किंप्रधानोऽयं समासः? Which is *pradhāna* in the *samāsa*?

उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः The latter member is *pradhāna*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that this question arises on this standpoint:—In the *vigraha-vākya māsō jātasya*, *jātasya*, being *ṣaṣṭhī*, is *apradhāna* and in *samāsa Māsajātō dṛśyatām* it is *pradhāna*, since it has *kāryasambandha*.

II

यदि उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः सधर्मणानेन अन्यैरुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानैर्भवितव्यम् । अन्येषु चोत्तरपदार्थप्रधानेषु यैवासावन्तर्वर्तिनी विभक्तिः तस्याः समासेऽपि श्रवणं भवति । तद्यथा, राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुष इति । इह पुनर्वाक्ये षष्ठी, समासे प्रथमा, केनैतदेवं भवति?

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If it is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, it should be on a par with other *uttarapadārthapradhāna-samāsas*. The case-suffix of the latter member of the *vigrahavākya* there remains the same as in the *samāsa*. *Cf. Rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and *rājapuruṣaḥ*. But here *jātasya* is *ṣaṣṭhī* in *vākya* and it changes to *prathamā* in *samāsa*. On what basis is it so?

योऽसौ मासजातयोरभिसम्बन्धः समासे स निवर्तते । अभिहितः सोऽर्थोऽन्तर्भूतः प्रातिपदिकार्थः सम्पन्नः । तत्र प्रातिपदिकार्थे प्रथमा इति प्रथमा भविष्यति

The relation which is seen between *māsa* and *jāta* in the *vigrahavākya* disappears in the *samāsa*. Though it is stated in the *vākya*, it disappears and merges into *prātipadikārtha*. It, then, takes the first case on the strength of the *sūtra Prādi-padikārtha...prathamā* (2, 3, 46).

न तर्हीदानीमिदं भवति मासजातस्येति?

Is not, then, possible to secure the form *māsajātasya*?

भवति बाह्यमर्थम् अभिसमीक्ष्य षष्ठी

Sixth case comes after *māsajāta* to show its sixth-case-relation with an external object.

III

कालस्य येन समासस्तस्यापरिमाणित्वादनिर्देशः

Since that with which *kāla-vācaka-śabda* compounds is not *parimāṇin*, the expression is not sound.

कालस्य येन समासः सोऽपरिमाणी । तस्यापरिमाणित्वाद् अनिर्देशः । अगमको निर्देशः अनिर्देशः । न हि जातस्य मासः परिमाणम् ।

That with which *kāla-vācaka-śabda* compounds is not *parimāṇin* (i.e.) it does not have the *kāla* for its measure. Since it is not *parimāṇin*, the expression is not sound. The derivation of the word *anirdēśaḥ* is *agamakō nirdēśaḥ*; for *māsa* is not the measure of the *jāta* (child).

कस्य तर्हि? Of whom then?

त्रिंशद्रात्रस्य । तद्यथा द्रोणो बदराणां देवदत्तस्य इति न देवदत्तस्य द्रोणः परिमाणम् ।

Of thirty days. For instance, *drōṇa* is not *parimāṇa* of *Dēvadatta* in *Drōṇō badarāṇām Dēvadattasya*.

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कस्य तर्हि? Of whom then?

बदराणाम् Of jujubes.

सिद्धं तु कालपरिमाणं यस्य स कालस्तेन

The soundness of the expression is achieved, since the *kāla-vācaka-śabda* compounds with that which is related to the time restricted by the *kāla-vācaka-śabda*.

सिद्धमेतत् The desired object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

कालपरिमाणं यस्य स कालः तेन समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम्

Kāla is that which becomes *paricchēda* to the *kāla-sāmānya* which is related to it and it must be stated that it compounds with it (*jāta*).

सिध्यति । सूत्रं तर्हि भिद्यते

The object is achieved; but the *sūtra* is modified.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* be as it is.

ननु चोक्तं कालस्य येन समासस्तस्यापरिमाणित्वादनिर्देश इति ।

Oh, it was said that the expression is unsound on account of its being *aparimāṇin* with which *kāla-vācaka-śabda* compounds.

कं पुनर्भवान् कालं मत्वाह - कालस्य येन समासस्तस्यापरिमाणित्वादनिर्देश इति?

What does, in your opinion, the word *kāla* denote when you say *kālasya yēna samāsaḥ tasya aparimāṇitvād anirdēśaḥ?*

येन मूर्तीनामुपचयाश्चापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते तं कालमित्याहुः । तस्यैव कयाचित् क्रियया युक्तस्य अहरिति च भवति रात्रिरिति च ।

They say that *kāla* is that when the growth or the decay of bodies is seen. The same, in association with some action, gets the name of the day and the night.

कया क्रियया? With which action?

आदित्यगत्या With the movement of the sun.

तयैवासकृदावृत्तया मास इति भवति, संवत्सर इति च भवति ।

The same being associated with it when repeated gets the name of month and year.

यद्येवं भवति जातस्य मासः परिमाणम्

If so, *māsa* becomes the *parimāṇa* of *jāta*.

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IV

एकवचनद्विगोश्चोपसङ्ख्यानम्
Need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *ēkavacana* and *dvigu* too.

एकवचनान्तानामिति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत्, मासौ जातस्य, मासा जातस्य इति । द्विगोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् - इहापि यथा स्यात्, द्विमासजातः, त्रिमासजातः
Ēkavacanāntānām must be read to prevent *samāsa* between *māsāu* and *jātasya* and between *māsāḥ* and *jātasya.* The expression *dvigōś ca* should be read so that compounds *dvimāsajātaḥ* and *trimāsajātaḥ* too may be secured.

उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered ?

एकवचने तावदुक्तम् अनभिधानादिति
With reference to *ēkavacana*, it has already been answered by the statement *Anabhidhānāt.*

NOTE :—Perhaps he refers to the *vārttika Saṅghātasya āikārthyād nāvayavasaṅkhyātaḥ subutpattiḥ* in the *sūtra Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (2, 1, 1).

द्विगोः किमुक्तम् ? What has been said with reference to *dvigu* ?

उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः समासवचनम्
Uttarapadēna parimāṇinā dvigōḥ samāsavacanam (under 2, 1, 51)

नञ् (2, 2, 6)

Whether *nañsamāsa* is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, *anyapadārthapradhāna* or *pūrvapadārthapradhāna* is discussed here.

किंप्रधानोऽयं समासः ?
Whose member's meaning in this compound is *pradhāna?*

उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः
It has the meaning of the latter member *pradhāna.*

यद्युत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः, अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणमात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति ।
If it is *uttarapadārthapradhāna*, there is chance to bring only a brahman on hearing the expression *Abrāhmaṇam ānaya.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *viśēṣaṇa* cannot affect the connotation of *viśēṣya.*

अन्यपदार्थप्रधानस्तर्हि भविष्यति
If so, let it be *anyapadārthapradhāna.*

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यदि अन्यपदार्थप्रधानः "अवर्षा हेमन्तः" इति हेमन्तस्य यल्लिङ्गं वचनं च तत् समासस्यापि प्राप्नोति

If it is *anyapadārthapradhāna*, the word *avarṣāḥ* in *Avarṣā hēmantaḥ* may have to agree with *hēmanta* in gender and number.

पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानस्तर्हि भविष्यति

If so, let it be *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*.

यदि पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः, अव्ययसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति; अव्ययं ह्यस्य पूर्वपदम् इति

If it is *pūrvapadārthapradhāna*, it may get *avyayasaṁjñā*; for its *pūrvapada* is *avyaya*.

नैष दोषः । पाठेनाव्ययसंज्ञा क्रियते, न च नञ्समासस्तत्र पठ्यते ।

No, this difficulty will not arise. *Avyaya-saṁjñā* reaches those read in the *gaṇapāṭha* and *nañsamāsa* is not read there.

यद्यपि नञ्समासो न तत्र पठ्यते, नञ् तु पठ्यते । पाठेनापि अव्ययसंज्ञायां सत्यामभिधेयवल्लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति । यश्चेह अर्थोऽभिधीयते न तस्य लिङ्गसङ्ख्याभ्यां योगोऽस्ति

Nañ is read there even though *nañ-samāsa* is not. When it gets *avyaya-saṁjñā* through *pāṭha*, the gender and number are used in consonance with those of the *pradhānārtha-vācaka*. The *pradhānārtha* here is not connected with any gender or number.

नेदं वाचनिकमलिङ्गता असङ्ख्यता वा

This *aliṅgatva* or *asaṅkhyātva* is not based on verbal testimony.

किं तर्हि? On what then?

स्वाभाविकमेतत् It is natural.

[1] तद्यथा, समानमीहमानानाञ्च अधीयानानां च केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते, अपरे न । न चेदानीं कश्चिद् अर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वैरर्थवद्भिः शक्यं भवितुं, कश्चिद्वा अनर्थक इति सर्वैरनर्थकैः । तत्र किमस्माभिः शक्यं कर्तुम् । यन्नञः प्राक् समासाद् लिङ्गसङ्ख्याभ्यां योगो नास्ति, समासे च भवति, स्वाभाविकमेतत् ।

For instance, of those persons who study equally with the same hope (of getting money), some get it and others do not.

1. *Cf.* Vol. i p. 155.

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Because one gets money, it is not necessary that all have got it. Or because one does not get it, it is not necessary that all have not got it. What can be done by us there? It is in the nature of *nañ* to be devoid of gender and number before it becomes a member of the *samāsa* and to have them after it becomes so.

अथ वा आश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भविष्यन्ति । गुणवचनानां हि शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति । तद्यथा शुक्लं वस्त्रं, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्लः कम्बलः, शुक्लौ कम्बलौ, शुक्लाः कम्बला इति । यदसौ द्रव्यं श्रितो भवति गुणः, तस्य यल्लिङ्गं वचनं च तद् गुणस्यापि भवति । एवमिहापि यदसौ द्रव्यं श्रितो भवति समासः, तस्य यल्लिङ्गं वचनं च तत् समासस्यापि भविष्यति ।

Or gender and number are decided from the words that are qualified. Words denoting quality take the gender and the number of the *guṇins*. *Viz. Śuklam vastram, śuklā śāṭī, śuklaḥ kambalaḥ, śuklāu kambalāu* and *śuklāḥ kambalāḥ*. If the *guṇa-vācaka* qualifies *guṇi-vācaka*, the former takes the gender and the number of the latter. So also the *samāsa* takes the gender and the number of the *dravya* to which it refers.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः

Or let it be, as was said before, *uttarapadārthapradhāna*.

ननु चोक्तम् - अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणमात्रस्यानयनं प्राप्नोति इति ।

Oh, it was said that there is chance for a brahman alone to be brought when *Abrāhmaṇam ānaya* is said.

नैष दोषः । इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः - अथेह राजपुरुषमानय, इत्युक्ते पुरुषमात्रस्यानयनं कस्मान्न भवति ?

This difficulty cannot arise. He is to be put this question, "Why is not *puruṣa* alone brought when one is ordered to fetch *rājapuruṣa* here?"

अस्त्यत्र विशेषः - राजा विशेषकः प्रयुज्यते, तेन विशिष्टस्य आनयनं भवति

There is a speciality here:–The word *rājā* becomes *upalakṣaka* and hence *rājapuruṣa* is fetched.

इहापि तर्हि नञ् विशेषकः प्रयुज्यते, तेन नञ्विशिष्टस्यानयनं भविष्यति

Here too, then, does *nañ* become *viśēṣaka*, so that there is chance to fetch *nañ-viśiṣṭa-brāhmaṇa*.

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कः पुनरसौ ? Who is he?

निवृत्तपदार्थकः

One from whom the *padārtha* of *brāhmaṇa* (i. e. *mukhyam brāhmaṇyam*) is with held.

NOTE :–*Abrāhmaṇaḥ* means *adhyārōpitabrāhmaṇyaḥ kṣatriyādiḥ*.

यदा पुनरस्य अर्थो निवर्तते, किं स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः आहोस्विद् वाचनिकी ?
If the meaning of the *uttarapada* is withheld, is it so by its very nature or is it made by the word *nañ*?

किञ्चातः ? What does it matter if it is this or that?

यदि स्वाभाविकी, किं नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः करोति ? अथ वाचनिकी, तद्वक्तव्यं नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः पदार्थं निवर्तयति इति
If it is by its very nature, what purpose is served by the use of *nañ*? If, on the other hand, it is made by the word *nañ*, it should be so stated that *nañ* in association with a noun withholds from it the comprehension of its meaning.

एवं तर्हि स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः If so, *nivṛtti* is by its very nature.

ननु चोक्तं किं नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः करोति इति
Oh, it was said, "What purpose does the use of *nañ* serve?"

नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः पदार्थं निवर्तयति
Nañ, in association with the word *brāhmaṇa*, enables it to have its meaning withheld from it.

कथम्? How?

कीलप्रतिकीलवत् । तद्यथा, कील आहन्यमानः प्रतिकीलं निर्हन्ति ।
Like wedge and counter-wedge. When the wedge is beaten, it makes the counter-wedge fall down.

यद्येतन्नञो माहात्म्यं स्यात्, न जातु चिद् राजानो हस्त्यश्वं बिभृयुः, नेत्येव राजानो ब्रूयुः ।
If this is the greatness of *nañ*, never will kings maintain an army of elephants and horses. They will simply pronounce the word *na*.

NOTE :—The humour of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* here deserves to be noted.

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एवं तर्हि स्वाभाविकी निवृत्तिः If so, *nivṛtti* is by its very nature.

ननु चोक्तम्, किं नञ् प्रयुज्यमानः करोति इति

Oh, it was said, " What purpose does the use of *nañ* serve ? "

तन्निमित्ता तूपलब्धिः । तद्यथा - समन्धकारे द्रव्याणां समवस्थितानां प्रदीपनिमित्तं दर्शनम्; न च तेषां प्रदीपो निर्वर्तको भवति ।

The comprehension of the meaning (that *brāhmaṇa* in *abrāhmaṇa* means not the *mukhyabrāhmaṇa* but *ārōpita-brāhmaṇya-vad-brāhmaṇa*) is with the help of *nañ*. It may be illustrated thus:-The sight of objects in dense darkness is with the help of light; but the light does not create them.

यदि पुनरयं निवृत्तपदार्थकः, ब्राह्मणशब्दः किमर्थं प्रयुज्यते ? एवं यथा विज्ञायेत अस्य पदार्थो निवर्तते इति, नेत्युक्ते सन्देहः स्यात् कस्य पदार्थो निवर्तते इति । तत्र असन्देहार्थः ब्राह्मणशब्दः प्रयुज्यते । एवं चैतत् ।

If *nañ* is *nivṛtta-padārthaka*, what for is the word *brāhmaṇa* used ? If '*na*' is used to signify that the meaning of a word is withheld, it cannot be clearly understood without an iota of doubt whose meaning is withheld. Hence the word *brāhmaṇa* is used to clear the doubt. It has evidently this purpose.

अथ वा सर्वे एते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते - ब्राह्मणः, क्षत्रियः, वैश्यः शूद्र इति

Or all these words - *brāhmaṇaḥ*, *kṣatriyaḥ*, *vāiśyaḥ* and *śūdraḥ* are used where the group of peculiar qualities is found.

तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद्ब्राह्मणकारकम् ।
तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥

तथा गौरः शुच्याचारः पिङ्गलः कपिलकेशः इत्येतानप्यभ्यन्तरान् ब्राह्मण्ये गुणान् कुर्वन्ति ।

Austerities, study of Vēdas and birth are the *nimittas* to call one a brahman. He who is devoid of *tapas* and *śruta* is called *jāti-brāhmaṇa*. These proximate qualities too—red complexion, clean conduct and possessing reddish brown or tawny hair - are ascribed to *brāhmaṇya*.

[1] समुदायेषु च वृत्ताः शब्दा अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते । तद्यथा पूर्वे पञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पञ्चालाः; तैलं भुक्तं, घृतं भुक्तम्; शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति । एवमयं समुदाये प्रवृत्तो ब्राह्मणशब्दः अवयवेष्वपि वर्तते जातिहीने गुणहीने च ।

1. *Cf.* Vol. I p. 77

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Words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also :-*Viz.* East *Pañcāla*, North *Pañcāla* ; *tāila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in ; white, blue, brown and black, object. So also the word *brāhmaṇa* used to denote one possessing all the qualities is used to denote one who possesses them excluding *jāti* and *guṇa*.

गुणहीने तावत् - अब्राह्मणोऽयं यस्तिष्ठन्मूत्रयति, अब्राह्मणोऽयं यस्तिष्ठन् भक्षयति

Firstly with reference to *guṇahīna* :-He who passes urine standing is *abrāhmaṇa* ; he who eats standing is *abrāhmaṇa*.

जातिहीने सन्देहाद् दुरुपदेशाच्च ब्राह्मणशब्दो वर्तते । सन्देहात्तावत् - गौरं शुच्याचारं पिङ्गलकपिलकेशं दृष्ट्वा अध्यवस्यति, ब्राह्मणोऽयमिति । ततः उपलभते नायं ब्राह्मणः, अब्राह्मणोऽयमिति । तत्र सन्देहाद् ब्राह्मणशब्दो वर्तते ; जातिकृता चार्थस्य निवृत्तिः

The word *brāhmaṇa* is used towards one who is not born a brahman through causes for doubting and wrong direction. Firstly through *sandēha-nimitta* :—On seeing one who is red in complexion, of pure conduct and having reddish brown or tawny hair, a man decides that he is a brahman. Then he learns that he is not a *brāhmaṇa* but an *abrāhmaṇa*. He uses, there, the word *brāhmaṇa* since there are causes for doubting it. Its meaning is withheld on knowing his true *jāti*.

दुरुपदेशात् - दुरुपदिष्टमस्य भवति - अमुष्मिन्नवकाशे ब्राह्मणः, तमानय इति । स तत्र गत्वा यं पश्यति तमध्यवस्यति, ब्राह्मणोऽयम् इति । ततः पश्चाद् उपलभते नायं ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणोऽयम् इति । तत्र दुरुपदेशाच्च ब्राह्मणशब्दो वर्तते । जातिकृता चार्थस्य निवृत्तिः । आतश्च सन्देहाद्दुरुपदेशाद्वा । न ह्ययं कालं माषराशिवर्णमापणे आसीनं दृष्ट्वाऽध्यवस्यति ब्राह्मणोऽयम् इति ; निर्ज्ञातं तस्य भवति ।

Through wrong direction :—He is given this wrong direction :- "There is a *brāhmaṇa* in that place. Take him here." He goes there and decides that the person he sees is a *brāhmaṇa*. He then learns that he is not a *brāhmaṇa* but an *abrāhmaṇa*. He uses there the word *brāhmaṇa* through wrong direction. Its meaning is withheld through his true *jāti*. Hence the chance to use the word *brāhmaṇa* arises from *sandēhanimitta* and *dur-upadēśa*. He never decides one to be a *brāhmaṇa* who is as

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black as black gram and who is seated in a bazaar, since he knows him well (that he is not a *brāhmaṇa*).

इदं खल्वपि, भूय उत्तरपदार्थप्राधान्ये सति संगृहीतं भवति

This too is achieved, in addition, if the *uttarapadārtha* is considered *pradhāna*.

किम्? What?

अनेकम् इति The word *anēkam*.

किमत्र संगृहीतम्? What is achieved here?

एकवचनम् Singular number.

कथं पुनरेकस्य प्रतिषेधेन द्विबहूनां संप्रत्ययः स्यात्?

How is it possible for two or more to be comprehended by the *pratiṣēdha* of one?

प्रसज्यायं क्रियागुणौ ततः पश्चान्निवृत्तिं करोति । तद्यथा आसय शायय भोजय अनेकम् इति

Having enjoined *kriyā* and *guṇa*, he, then, prohibits one from having them, as in "Seat, provide with bed and feed *anēka*."

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that since *kriyā* and *guṇa* have *āśrayạ* and since one is prohibited, many have them.

यद्यपि तावदत्र एतत् शक्यते वक्तुं यत्र क्रियागुणौ प्रसज्येते, यत्र तु खलु पुनर्न प्रसज्येते तत्र कथम्, अनेकं तिष्ठति इति?

Even though it is possible to say so where *kriyā* and *guṇa* have already been enjoined, how will it be possible, in instances like *Anēkam tiṣṭhati*, where they have not already been enjoined?

भवति चैवंजातीयकानामप्येकस्य प्रतिषेधेन बहूनां सम्प्रत्ययः । तद्यथा - न न एकं प्रियम्, न न एकं सुखम् इति

Comprehension of many takes place through the *pratiṣēdha* of one in similar instances too; *Viz. Na na ēkam priyam* and *Na na ēkam sukham*.

NOTE:—The doubling of *na* is by the *sūtra Ābādhē ca* (8, 1, 10). *Na na ēkam* means *anēkam*.

इह अब्राह्मणत्वम् अब्राह्मणता परत्वात् त्वतलौ प्राप्नुतः

Here in the words *abrāhmaṇatvam* and *abrāhmaṇatā tvā* and *tal*, being *para* may appear.

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तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there?

स्वरे हि दोषः स्यात् । अब्राह्मणत्वम् इत्येवं स्वरः प्रसज्येत । अब्राह्मणत्वम् इति चेष्यते

There will be difficulty in *svara*. The initial syllable, will chance to be *udātta*, though it is desired that the final syllable should be so.

नञ्समासे भाववचने उक्तम्

It has been said with reference to the word denoting *bhāva* in *nañ-samāsa* (in *Tasya bhāvas tvatalāu* (5, 1, 119).

त्वतलभ्यां नञ्समासः पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं त्वतलाः स्वरसिध्यर्थम् इति

Nañsamāsa takes place with words ending in *tva* and *tal* through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* so that *udātta* may fall on *tva* and *tal*.

ईषदकृता (2, 2, 7)

ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वक्तव्यम् । अकृतेति ह्युच्यमाने इह च प्रसज्येत, ईषद्गार्ग्यः, इह च न स्यात् ईषत्कडार इति

Guṇavacanēna should replace *akṛtā*. If *akṛtā* is read, it may operate here in *īṣad-gārgyaḥ* and not here in *īṣat-kaḍāraḥ*.

षष्ठी (2, 2, 8)

कृद्योगा च Need to add *kṛdyōgā*.

कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - इध्मप्रव्रश्चनः, पलाशशातनः

It must be read that a noun in the sixth case compounds with *kṛdanta* which it qualifies.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What is the need for reading this?

प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते इति वक्ष्यति । तस्यायं पुरस्तादपकर्षः ।

He (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read that *pratipadavidhāna-ṣaṣṭhī* does not compound with what it qualifies (in 2, 2, 10). Exception to it is made here in advance.

का पुनः षष्ठी प्रतिपदविधाना, का च कृद्योगा ?

Which *ṣaṣṭhī* is *pratipadavidhānā* and which is *kṛdyōgā*?

सर्वा षष्ठी प्रतिपदविधाना शेषलक्षणां वर्जयित्वा । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति इति तु या षष्ठी सा कृद्योगा ।

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Any *ṣaṣṭhī* not within the purview of *Ṣaṣṭhī śēṣē* (2, 3, 50) is *pratipadavidhānā*. The *ṣaṣṭhī* within the purview of *Kartṛ-karmaṇōḥ kṛti* (2, 3, 65) is *kṛdyōgā*.

तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः

Along with words denoting qualities which its stem denotes.

तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - ब्राह्मणवर्णः, चन्दनगन्धः, पटहशब्दः, नदीघोषः

It must be read that the word in the sixth case compounds with words denoting qualities which are denoted by its stem. *Viz. Brāhmaṇavarṇaḥ, candanagandhaḥ, paṭahaśabdaḥ* and *nadīghōṣaḥ*.

NOTE :—When *varṇa* is classified into *brāhmaṇavarṇa kṣatriyavarṇa* etc., the words *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya* etc. refer to *varṇa* and not to the *guṇin*. Similarly if *gandha* is classified into *candanagandha, puṣpagandha* etc., the words *candana, puṣpa* etc. refer to the *gandha* and not to the *gandhin*. If *śabda* is similarly classified into *paṭaha-śabda, bhērīśabda* etc., the words *paṭaha, bhērī* etc. refer only to *śabda* and not to *śabdin*. If *ghōṣa* is similarly classified into *nadīghōṣa, samudra-ghōṣa* etc., the words *nadī, samudra* etc. refer to the *ghōṣa* and not to the *ghōṣin*. In such cases, *Vārttikakāra* says, there is *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*.

न तु तद्विशेषणैः But not with their *viśēṣaṇas*.

न तु तद्विशेषणैरिति वक्तव्यम् । इह गा भूत् - घृतस्य तीव्रो गन्धः, चन्दनस्य मृदुः इति

It must be stated that they do not compound with their *viśēṣaṇas*, so that there may be no *samāsa* in *ghṛtasya tīvrō gandhaḥ, candanasya mṛduḥ (sparśaḥ)* etc.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What for is this read ?

NOTE :—*Idam* refers to the *vārttika Tasthāiś ca guṇāiḥ*.

गुणेन न इति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति, तस्यायं पुरस्तादपकर्षः

Ācārya is going to read the *pratiṣēdha Guṇēna na* and this is its *apavāda* in advance.

किं पुनः कारणं गुणेन न इत्युच्यते, न पुनर्गुणवचनेन न इत्युच्येत ?

Why is it read *Guṇēna na* and not *Guṇavacanēna na* ?

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नैवं शक्यम् । इह हि न स्यात् काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यं, कण्टकस्य तैक्ष्ण्यं, बलाकायाः शौक्ल्यम् इति । एतदेव खल्वपि तस्मिन् योगे उदाहरणम् ।

It is not possible. In that case *pratiṣēdha* cannot operate in the following:—*Kākasya kārṣṇyam, kaṇṭakasya tāikṣṇyam* and *balākāyōḥ śāuklyam.* These are the examples given in the *sūtra.*

यद्धीदं ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः वृषलस्य कृष्णा इति?

What about *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* (in *brāhmaṇasya śuklā dantāḥ*), and *Vṛṣalasya kṛṣṇāḥ* (in *vṛṣalasya kṛṣṇā dantāḥ*)?

असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति

They do not compound with each other on account of *asāmarthya.*

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति

The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati.*

द्रव्यमत्र अपेक्ष्यते - दन्ताः

The *guṇin* (of *śuklāḥ* etc.) (i.e.) *dantāḥ* is anticipated.

तस्माद् गुणेन न इति वक्तव्यम् । गुणेन न इत्युच्यमाने तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्स्थैश्च गुणैः इत्युच्यमाने न तु तद्विशेषणैः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

Hence is the necessity to enjoin *Guṇēna na.* If *Guṇēna na* is read, *Tatsthāiś ca guṇāiḥ* has to be read. If *Tatsthāiś ca guṇāiḥ* is read, *Na tu tadviśēṣaṇāiḥ* has to be read.

न निर्धारणे (2, 2, 10)

प्रतिपदविधाना च Need to read *Pratipadavidhānā ca.*

प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - इह मा भूत् सर्पिषो ज्ञानं, मधुनो ज्ञानम् ।

It has to be read that the *ṣaṣṭhī* which is *pratipadavidhānā* does not compound with that which it qualifies, to prevent *sarpiṣaḥ* and *jñānam*, and *madhunaḥ* and *jñānam* from compounding with each other.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन (2, 2, 11)

गुणे किमुदाहरणम्? What is the example regarding *guṇa*?

ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः, वृषलस्य कृष्णाः इति

Brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ and *vṛṣalasya kṛṣṇāḥ.*

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नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति
They cannot serve as examples. They do not compound with each other thro' *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम् What is the basis for *asāmarthya* ?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति, द्रव्यमत्रापेक्ष्यते दन्ताः
The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*; the *guṇin-dantāḥ* is necessary to complete the idea.

इदं तर्हि - काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यं, कण्टकस्य तैक्ष्ण्यं, बलाकायाः शौक्ल्यम् इति
This (each of the following) is then the example:—*Kākasya kārṣṇyam*, *kaṇṭakasya tāikṣṇyam* and *balākāyāḥ śāuklyam*.

इदं चाप्युदाहरणं, ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः, वृषलस्य कृष्णाः इति
This too may be the *udāharaṇa*:—*Brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* and *vṛṣalasya kṛṣṇāḥ*.

ननु चोक्तम् - असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति
Oh, it was said that they do not form *samāsa* thro' *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवतीति, द्रव्यमत्रापेक्ष्यते दन्ताः इति
The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*; there is, here, the *apēkṣā* of the *dravya-dantāḥ*.

भवति वै कस्यचिदर्थात् प्रकरणाद्वा अपेक्ष्यं निर्ज्ञातं भवति तदा वृत्तिः प्राप्नोति
There is chance for *samāsa* if that, for which there is *apēkṣā*, is well understood through the capacity of the word or the context.

NOTE:—The word *artha*, above, possibly means *liṅga* (*śabdasāmarthyam*) of the *Pūrvamīmāṁsakas*.

सति किमुदाहरणम्?
What is the example regarding *sat* in the *sūtra*?

NOTE:—*Śatṛ* and *śānac* are designated as *sat* in 3, 2, 127.

ब्राह्मणस्य पक्ष्यन्, ब्राह्मणस्य पक्ष्यमाणः
Brāhmaṇasya pakṣyan and *brāhmaṇasya pakṣyamāṇaḥ*.

नैतदस्ति । प्रतिषिध्यतेऽत्र षष्ठी लप्रयोगे न इति
No, it cannot be; for *ṣaṣṭhī* is prohibited in *laprayōga* (in *Na lōkāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛṇām* 2, 3, 69).

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या च श्रूयते, एषा बाह्यमर्थमपेक्ष्य भवति । तत्रासामर्थ्याद् न भविष्यति ।
That which is current in usage depends upon some external element. *Samāsa* there does not take place through *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति । द्रव्यमत्र अपेक्ष्यते ओदनः
The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*. There is *apēkṣā* here for the *dravya ōdana*.

इदं तर्हि चोरस्य द्विषन्, वृषलस्य द्विषन्
If so, the *udāharaṇa* is *Cōrasya dviṣan* and *vṛṣalasya dviṣan*.

ननु चात्रापि प्रतिषिध्यते षष्ठी Oh, *ṣaṣṭhī* is prohibited here too.

वक्ष्यत्येतत् द्विषः शतुर्वावचनम् इति
Vārttikakāra is going to read *Dviṣaḥ śaturvāvacanam* (under 2, 3, 69).

अव्यये किमुदाहरणम्? What is the example regarding *avyaya*?

ब्राह्मणस्य उच्चैः, वृषलस्य नीचैः इति
Brāhmaṇasya uccāiḥ and *vṛṣalasya nīcāiḥ*.

नैतदस्ति । असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति
No, it is not. There will be no *samāsa* here thro' *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम्? What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति । द्रव्यमत्रापेक्ष्यते आसनम्
The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*. There is *apēkṣā* for the *dravya āsana*.

इदं तर्हि ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा, वृषलस्य कृत्वा इति
These, then, serve as examples:—*Brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā* and *vṛṣalasya kṛtvā*.

एतदपि नास्ति, प्रतिषिध्यते तत्र षष्ठी अव्ययप्रयोगे न इति
These, too, cannot be; *Ṣaṣṭhī* is prohibited with reference to *avyaya* (in *Na lōkāvyaya*...2, 3, 69).

या च श्रूयते एषा बाह्यार्थमपेक्ष्य भवति, तत्रासामर्थ्यान्न भवति
That which is current in usage depends upon some external element. *Samāsa* there does not take place through *asāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम् What is the basis for *asāmarthya*?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति इति । द्रव्यमत्रापेक्ष्यते कटः

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The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati.* There is *apēkṣā* for the *dravya kaṭa* here.

इदं तर्हि पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः, पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः

These then are the examples:—*Purā sūryasya udētōḥ ādhēyaḥ* and *purā vatsānām apākartōḥ.*

ननु चात्रापि प्रतिषिध्यते अव्ययमिति कृत्वा

Oh, there is prohibition here too since it is *avyaya.*

वक्ष्यत्येतत् - अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तोसुन्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः इति

(*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read *Avyayapratiṣēdhē tōsunkasunōr-apratiṣēdhaḥ* (under 2, 3, 69).

समानाधिकरणे किमुदाहरणम् ?

What is the example regarding *samānādhikaraṇa?*

राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य, शुकस्य माराविकस्य,[1] पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य

Rājñaḥ pāṭaliputrakasya, śukasya mārāvikasya and *Pāṇinēḥ sūtrakārasya.*

नैतदस्ति । असामर्थ्यादत्र न भविष्यति

This cannot be. They do not compound thro' *asāmarthya.*

कथमसामर्थ्यम् ? What is the basis for *asāmarthya* ?

समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद्भवति

The dictum *Samānādhikaraṇam asamarthavad bhavati.*

इह तर्हि - सर्पिषः पीयमानस्य, यजुषः क्रियमाणस्य इति

If so, let these be *udāharaṇas:—Sarpiṣaḥ pīyamānasya* and *Yajuṣaḥ kriyamāṇasya.*

ननु चात्रापि असामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh, even here they do not compound thro' *asāmarthya.*

कथमसामर्थ्यम् ? What is the basis for *asāmarthya* ?

समानाधिकरणमसमर्थवद् भवतीति

That which has the same *adhikaraṇa* is *asamartha.*

अधात्वभिहितमित्येवं तत्

It refers to that which is not *abhihita* by *dhātu.*

1. मा रावीत्याहेति माराविकः ... संज्ञैषा शुकविशेषस्य । क्वचित्तु माराविदस्य इति पाठः । तत्र माराविशब्दं ददातीति माराविदः (रघुनाथशास्त्री).

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कर्मणि च (2, 2, 14)

It is decided here that *karmaṇi* should be qualified by *ubhaya-prāptāu* and it should qualify *ṣaṣṭhī*.

कथमिदं विज्ञायते, कर्मणि या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते इति, आहोस्वित् कर्मणि यः क्तः इति?

How is this to be interpreted, whether *karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī* does not compound with the following word or *karmaṇi ktaḥ ?*

कुतः सन्देहः ? What is the source of the doubt?

उभयं प्रकृतं, तत्रान्यतरत् शक्यं विशेषयितुम् ।

Both are in the context and hence either of them can be taken as *viśēṣya.*

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here?

कर्मणीति षष्ठीनिर्देशश्चेद् अकर्तरि कृता समासवचनम्

If *karmaṇi* qualifies *ṣaṣṭhī, samāsa* between *karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī* and *akartari kṛdanta* has to be enjoined.

कर्मणीति षष्ठीनिर्देशश्चेद् अकर्तरि कृता समासो वक्तव्यः - इध्मप्रव्रश्चनः, पलाशशातनः

If *karmaṇi* qualifies *ṣaṣṭhī, samāsa* has to be enjoined between *karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī* and *akartari kṛdanta,* to secure the forms *idhma-pravraścanaḥ* and *palāśa-sātanaḥ.*

तृजकाभ्यां चानर्थकः प्रतिषेधः

The *pratiṣēdha* of *samāsa* of *karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī* with words ending in *tṛc* and *aka* is unnecessary.

तृजकाभ्यां चानर्थकः कर्तरि प्रतिषेधो भवति - अपां स्रष्टा, पुरां भेत्ता, यवानां लावकः, कर्मणि इत्येव सिद्धम्

The *sūtra Tṛjakābhyām kartari* (2, 2, 15) to prevent *samāsa* between *apām* and *sraṣṭā*, between *purām* and *bhēttā* and between *yavānām* and *lāvakaḥ* is unnecessary, since it will be secured by this *sūtra Karmaṇi ca.*

अस्तु तर्हि कर्मणि यः क्तः इति Let *karmaṇi*, then, qualify *ktaḥ.*

किमुदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa*?

ब्राह्मणस्य भुक्तम्, वृषलस्य पीतम् इति

Brāhmaṇasya bhuktam and *vṛṣalasya pītam.*

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क्तनिर्देशेऽसमर्थत्वादप्रतिषेधः

No need for *pratiṣēdha* on account of *asāmarthya* if *karmaṇi* qualifies *kta*.

क्तनिर्देशेऽसमर्थत्वादप्रतिषेधः । अनर्थकः प्रतिषेधः अप्रतिषेधः

Pratiṣēdha is of no use on account of *asāmarthya* if *karmaṇi* qualifies *kta*. *Apratiṣēdhaḥ* means *anarthakaḥ pratiṣēdhaḥ*.

समासः कस्मान्न भवति ? Why does not *samāsa* set in ?

असामर्थ्यात् On account of the absence of *sāmarthya*.

कथमसामर्थ्यम् What is the basis for *asāmarthya* ?

सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति । द्रव्यमत्रापेक्ष्यते ओदनः

The dictum *Sāpēkṣam asamartham bhavati*. The *dravya ōdana* is wanted here.

प्रतिषेध्यमिति चेत् कर्तर्यपि प्रतिषेधः

If the *pratiṣēdha* is considered necessary there, the same is needed in *kartari* also.

अथैवं सति प्रतिषेधः कर्तव्य इति मन्यसे, कर्तर्यपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः स्यात् - ब्राह्मणस्य गतः, ब्राह्मणस्य ज्ञातः इति

If even, as it is, you consider that there is need for *pratiṣēdha* (in *karmaṇi*), *pratiṣēdha* in *kartari* too has to be enjoined to prevent *samāsa* in *brāhmaṇasya gataḥ* and *brāhmaṇasya jñātaḥ*.

पूजायां च प्रतिषेधानर्थक्यम्

Non-need of the *pratiṣēdhasūtra Ktēna ca pūjāyām*.

पूजायां च प्रतिषेधोऽनर्थकः । राज्ञां पूजितः, राज्ञाम् अर्चित इति कर्मणि इत्येव सिद्धम्

The *sūtra Ktēna ca pūjāyām* is unnecessary. *Rājñām* and *pūjitaḥ* and *rājñām* and *arcitaḥ* will not compound by this *sūtra Karmaṇi ca*.

तस्मादुभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि षष्ठ्याः प्रतिषेधः

Hence the *pratiṣēdha* refers to the *ṣaṣṭhī* qualified by *ubhayaprāptāu karmaṇi*.

तस्माद् उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीत्येवं या षष्ठी तस्याः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Hence there is need to prohibit the *samāsa* between the *ṣaṣṭhī* qualified by *ubhayaprāptāu karmaṇi* and the following word.

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स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It, then, should be read.

न वक्तव्यः । इत्यर्थेऽयं चः पठितः । कर्मणि च, कर्मणि इत्येवं या षष्ठीति No, it need not be read. *Ca* here is read in the sense of *iti*. *Karmaṇi ca* means *karmaṇi ityēvam yā ṣaṣṭhī.*

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः (2, 2, 17)

किमिह नित्यग्रहणेनाभिसम्बध्यते विधिः आहोस्वित् प्रतिषेधः ? Does *nitya* here go with *vidhi* or *pratiṣēdha* ?

विधिरित्याह "It goes with *vidhi*", says he.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it so ?

विधिर्हि विभाषा, नित्यः प्रतिषेधः For *vidhi* is optional and *pratiṣēdha* is *nitya*.

कुगतिप्रादयः (2, 2, 18)

Vārttikakāra finds out two defects in the *sūtra* and suggests a *vārttika* in its place followed by another. They are explained in detail by *Sāunāgas.*

प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयप्रतिषेधः
Pratiṣēdha of *pra* etc. if they are *karmapravacanīyas.*

प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्; साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति ।
There is need to prohibit the *samāsa* of *pra* etc. if they are *karmapravacanīyas*. *Cf. Vṛkṣam prati vidyōtatē vidyut* and *Sādhur Dēvadattō mātaram prati.*

व्यवेतप्रतिषेधश्च Prohibition of *samāsa* between *vyavahitas.*

व्यवेतानां च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - आमन्द्रैरिन्द्र हरिभिर्याहि मयूररोमभिः । (R. V. 3, 45, 1.)
Samāsa between intercepted words is to be prohibited, as between *ā* and *yāhi* in *Ā mandrāir indra haribhir yāhi mayūra-rōmabhiḥ.*

सिद्धं तु क्वाङ्स्वतिदुर्गतिवचनात्
The object is achieved replacing the *sūtra* by *Kvāṅ-svati-durgatayaḥ.*

सिद्धमेतत् This (the object) is achieved.

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कथम् ? How?

क्वाङ्स्वतिदुर्गतयः समस्यन्ते इति वक्तव्यम् - कु - कुब्राह्मणः, कुवृषलः, आङ् - आकडारः, आपिङ्गलः; सु - सुब्राह्मणः, सुवृषलः; अति - अतिब्राह्मणः, अतिवृषलः; दुर् - दुर्ब्राह्मणः,, दुर्वृषलः; गति - प्रकारकः, प्रणायकः, प्रसेवकः, ऊरीकृत्य, उररीकृत्य।
It must be enjoined that *ku*, *āṅ*, *su*, *ati*, *dur* and *gati* compound with *samartha Viz. Kubrāhmaṇaḥ*, *kuvṛṣalaḥ* ; *ākaḍāraḥ*, *āpiṅgalaḥ* ; *subrāhmaṇaḥ*, *suvṛṣalaḥ*, ; *atibrāhmaṇaḥ*, *ativṛṣalaḥ* ; *durbrāhmaṇaḥ*, *durvṛṣalaḥ* ; *prakārakaḥ*, *praṇāyakaḥ*, *prasēvakaḥ*, *ūrīkṛtya* and *urarīkṛtya*.

प्रादयः क्तार्थे *Pra* etc. in the sense of *kta*.

प्रादयः क्तार्थे समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - प्रगत आचार्यः - प्राचार्यः, प्रान्तेवासी, प्रपितामहः
It must be enjoined that *pra* etc. in the sense of *kta* compound with *samartha*. *Cf Prācāryaḥ* (=*pragataḥ ācāryaḥ*), *prāntēvāsī* and *prapitāmahaḥ*.

एतदेव च सौनागैर्विस्तरतरकेण पठितम्
The same is read in great detail by *Sāunāgas*.

स्वती पूजायाम् *Su* and *ati* to suggest veneration.

स्वती पूजायामिति वक्तव्यम् - सुराजा, अतिराजा
It must be read that *su* and *ati* compound with the *samartha* to suggest veneration; *Cf. surājā* and *atirājā*.

दुर्निन्दायाम् *Dur* to suggest contempt.

दुर्निन्दायामिति वक्तव्यम् - दुष्कुलं, दुर्गवः
It must be read that *dur* compounds with the *samartha* to suggest contempt. *Cf. duṣkulam* and *durgavaḥ*.

आङीषदर्थे *Āṅ* to suggest slightly.

आङीषदर्थ इति वक्तव्यम् - आकडारः, आपिङ्गलः
It must be read that *āṅ* compounds with the *samartha* in *īṣadartha*. *Cf. ākaḍāraḥ* and *āpiṅgalaḥ*.

कुः पापार्थे *Ku* to suggest disdain.

कुः पापार्थ इति वक्तव्यम् - कुब्राह्मणः, कुवृषलः
It must be read that *ku* compounds with *samartha* to suggest disdain. *Cf. kubrāhmaṇaḥ* and *kuvṛṣalaḥ*.

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प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया

Pra etc. meaning *gata* etc. compound with noun in the nominative case.

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - प्रगत आचार्यः - प्राचार्यः, प्रान्तेवासी, प्रपितामहः

It must be read that *pra* etc. meaning *gata* etc. compound with noun in the nominative case. *Cf. prācāryaḥ* (*pragataḥ ācāryaḥ*), *prāntēvāsī* and *prapitāmahaḥ*.

अत्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया

Ati etc. meaning *krānta* etc. with noun in the accusative case.

अत्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम्, अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम् अतिखट्वः, अतिमालः

It must be read that *ati* etc. meaning *krānta* etc. compound with noun in the second case. *Cf. atikhaṭvaḥ* (*atikrāntaḥ khaṭvām*) and *atimālaḥ*.

अवादयः क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया

Ava etc. meaning *kruṣṭa* etc. with noun in the third case.

अवादयः क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - अवक्रुष्टः कोकिलया अवकोकिलो वसन्तः

It must be read that *ava* etc. meaning *kruṣṭa* etc. compound with noun in the third case. *Cf. avakōkilaḥ* (=*avakruṣṭaḥ kōkilayā*) in the expression *avakōkilō vasantaḥ*.

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या

Pari etc. meaning *glāna* etc. compound with noun in the fourth case.

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - परिग्लानो अध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययनः

It must be read that *pari* etc. meaning *pariglāna* etc. compound with noun in the fourth case. *Cf. paryadhyayanaḥ* (=*pariglānō adhyayanāya*).

निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या

Nir etc. meaning *krānta* etc. compound with noun in the fifth case.

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निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या समस्यन्त इति वक्तव्यम् - निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्याः निष्कौशाम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः

It must be read that *nir* etc. meaning *krānta* etc. compound with noun in the fifth case. *Cf. Niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* (=*niṣkrāntaḥ kāuśāmbyāḥ*) and *nirvārāṇasiḥ*.

अव्ययं प्रवृद्धादिभिः *Avyaya* with *pravṛddha* etc.

अव्ययं प्रवृद्धादिभिः समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - पुनःप्रवृद्धं बहिर्भवति, पुनर्गवः, पुनःसुखम् ।

It must be read that *avyaya* compounds with *pravṛddha* etc. *Cf. punaḥpravṛddham* (in the expression *punaḥpravṛddham bahirbhavati*), *punargavaḥ* and *punaḥsukham*.

इवेन विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं च
Noun with *iva* without the loss of case-suffix, having *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*.

इवेन सह समासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं च वक्तव्यं, वाससी इव कन्ये इव

It must be read that noun compounds with *iva*, when there is no elision of case-suffix and there is *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*.

अव्ययमव्ययेन *Avyaya* with *avyaya*.

अव्ययमव्ययेन समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - प्रप्रयज्ञपतिम्

It must be read that *avyaya* compounds with *avyaya* as in *prapra* in *prapra yajñapatim*.

[1] उदात्तगतिमता च तिङा
Avyaya with the *tiṅ* which has *udātta* and which is *gatimat*.

उदात्तवता तिङा गतिमता च तिङा अव्ययं समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् - अनुव्यचलत्, अनुव्याकरोति, यत्परियन्ति

It must be read that *avyaya* compounds with the finite verb which has *udātta* and which is *gatimān*, as in *anuvyacalat*, *anuvyākarōti* and *yat-pariyanti*.

उपपदमतिङ् (2, 2, 19)

There are *four* topics here:-(1) Need for *atiṅ* in the *sūtra* (2) To which does it become *jñāpaka* and what is its *prayōjana*? (3) With which does *upapada* compound itself? (4) Is there *vipratiṣēdha* between *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* and *upapadasamāsa*?

1. *Udāttavatā gatimathā ca tijñā* is another reading.

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I

अतिङ् इति किमर्थम्? Why is *atiṅ* read?

कारको व्रजति, हारको व्रजति

The prevent *samāsa* between *kārakaḥ* and *vrajati* and *hārakaḥ* and *vrajati*.

अतिङ् इति शक्यमवक्तुम् *Atiṅ* may be dispensed with.

कस्मान्न भवति, कारको व्रजति, हारको व्रजति इति?

By which is *samāsa* between *kārakaḥ* and *vrajati* and between *hārakaḥ* and *vrajati* prevented?

सुप्सुपेति वर्तते *Sup supā* is taken here by *anuvṛtti*.

अत उत्तरं पठति He reads the answer to this.

उपपदमतिङिति तदर्थप्रतिषेधः

Atiṅ in the *sūtra* prohibits the *samāsa* of the *upapada* with that whose meaning is *tiṅartha*.

उपपदमतिङिति तदर्थस्यायं प्रतिषेधः

Atiṅ in the *sūtra* prohibits the *samāsa* of *upapadam* with *tadartha*.

कस्य? Whom does *tad* refer to?

तिङर्थस्य To *tiṅartha*.

कः पुनस्तिङर्थः? What is *tiṅartha*?

क्रिया Action.

NOTE:—Of many meanings of *tiṅanta*, *kriyā* which is *mukhya* is taken here as *artha* by *lakṣaṇā*.

क्रियाप्रतिषेधो वा Or the *sūtra* may be read *Upapadam akriyā*.

अथ वा व्यक्तमेवेदं पठितव्यम् - उपपदमक्रियेति

Or the *sūtra* has to be plainly read *upapadam akriyā*.

अथ अक्रियेति किं प्रत्युदाह्रियते?

If the word *atiṅ* in the *sūtra* is replaced by *akriyā*, what is the *pratyudāharaṇa*?

कारको, गतः, कारको यातः *Kārakō gataḥ* and *kārakō yātaḥ*.

नैतत्क्रियावाचि This (*gataḥ* or *yātaḥ*) does not mean *kriyā*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

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द्रव्यवाचि It means *dravya.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *gataḥ* is *dravyavācī,* since its *pratyayārtha* which is *mukhya* is *kartā* and *kriyā* which is *prakṛtyartha* is *upasarjana* to it.

इदं तर्हि, कारकस्य गतिः, कारकस्य व्रज्या इति

This, then, serves as *pratyudāharaṇa* :-*kārakasya gatiḥ* and *kārakasya vrajyā.*

एतदपि द्रव्यवाचि This too is *dravyavāci.*

कथम्? How?

कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवद् भवति इति

On the accepted *atidēśa* that the *bhāva* denoted by *kṛt* may be treated like *dravya.*

II

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदतिङिति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः अनयो-यागयोर्निवृत्तं सुप्सुपेति

Since *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) reads the word *atiṅ* in the *sūtra* even though its purpose is otherwise accomplished, he suggests that there is no *anuvṛtti* for *sup supā* in this *sūtra* and in the former one.

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the the advantage gained from this *jñāpana?*

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासो भवति इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति ।

There will be no need to read the *paribhāṣā Gati-kāraka-upa-padānām kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsō bhavati.*

III

यद्येतत् ज्ञाप्यते केनेदानीं समासो भविष्यति ?

If this is suggested, with which will *upapada* compound itself?

समर्थेन With that which is *samartha.*

यद्येवं धातूपसर्गयोरपि समासः प्राप्नोति - पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण पश्चात्साधनेन इति

If so, *samāsa* may take place between *dhātu* and *upasarga* too. *Dhātu* may first compound with *upasarga* and then take the termination after it.

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नैतदस्ति । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते, पश्चादुपसर्गेण । साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति ; तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि । अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् ।

No, it is not so. *Dhātu* first takes termination after it and then combines with *upasarga.* It is the termination that determines the nature of *kriyā*, (with reference to time, doer etc.). *Upasarga* restricts its application. *Upasarga* can restrict its application only after its nature is determined.

IV

षष्ठीसमासादुपपदसमासो विप्रतिषेधेन

Upapadasamāsa supersedes *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* through *vipratiṣēdha.*

षष्ठीसमासाद् उपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । षष्ठीसमासस्यावकाशः - राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः । उपपदसमासस्यावकाशः स्तम्बेरमः कर्णेजपः । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति - कुम्भकारः, नगरकारः । उपपदसमासो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

Upapadasamāsa will supersede *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* through *vipratiṣēdha.* The room for *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* to operate is :-*rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* = *rājapuruṣaḥ.* The room for *upapadasamāsa* to operate is this - *sthambēramaḥ* and *karṇējapaḥ.* Here both have a chance to operate in *kumbhakāraḥ* and *nagarakāraḥ.* *Upapadasamāsa* takes place superseding *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* through *vipratiṣēdha.*

न वा षष्ठीसमासाभावादुपपदसमासः

No. *Upapadasamāsa* sets in on account of the absence of *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa.*

न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन *Vipratiṣēdha* does not play its part.

किं कारणम्? Why?

षष्ठीसमासस्याभावादुपपदसमासो भविष्यति गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः इति समासवचनात्

Upapadasamāsa appears in the absence of *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* on the authority of the statement that *gati*, *kāraka* and *upapada* compound with *kṛdantas* before case-suffixes are added.

अथ वा विभाषा षष्ठीसमासः । यदा न षष्ठीसमासस्तदोपपदसमासो भविष्यति

Or, *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* is optional. In its absence does *upapadasamāsa* appear.

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अनेनैव यथा स्यात्तेन मा भूदिति

So that it may set in by this *sūtra* itself and not by it.

कश्चात्र विशेषः, तेन वा स्यादनेन वा ?

What does it matter if it sets in by this or that ?

अयमस्ति विशेषः - उपपदसमासो नित्यसमासः, षष्ठीसमासः पुनर्विभाषा

There is this difference :–*Upapadasamāsa* is *nityasamāsa*, but *ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa* is *vibhāṣā*.

ननु च नित्यं यः समासः स नित्यसमासो यस्य विग्रहो नास्ति

Oh ! *nityasamāsa* is it which has no *viyrahavākya*.

नेत्याह । नित्याधिकारे यः समासः स नित्यसमासः

"No", says he. The *samāsa* read under the *adhikāra* of *nitya* is *nityasamāsa*.

नैवं शक्यम् । अव्ययीभावस्य ह्यनित्यसमासता प्रसज्येत । तस्मान्नित्यः समासो नित्यसमासो यस्य विग्रहो नास्ति ।

No, it cannot be. *Avyayībhāva* may, then, come under *anitya-samāsa*. Hence *nityasamāsa* is it which has no *vigrahavākya*.

अमैवाव्ययेन (2, 2, 20)

एवकारः किमर्थः ? Why is *ēva* read ?

नियमार्थः For the sake of *niyama*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणोऽन्तरेणैवकारं नियमार्थो भविष्यति

This is not the benefit. *Vidhi* without *ēva* enjoined to those already *siddha* is *niyama-vidhi*.

इष्टतोऽवधारणार्थस्तर्हि भविष्यति, यथैवं विज्ञायेत अमैवाव्ययेन इति, मैवं विज्ञायि अमाव्ययेनैवेति

It is then read for emphasis on the desired one, so that emphasis may be on *amā* and not on *avyayēna*.

अस्ति चेदानीं कश्चिदनव्ययम् अम्शब्दो यदर्थो विधिः स्यात् ?

Is there a word *am* which is not *avyaya*, to avoid which the *vidhi* is intended ?

अस्तीत्याह - खशयं ब्राह्मणकुलम् इति

"This is," says he - *khaśayam brāhmaṇakulam*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Khaśayam iti - Adhikaraṇē śētēḥ iti ac. Atōm iti sōr ambhāvaḥ.*

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नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । अन्तरङ्गत्वादत्र समासो भविष्यति

This is not the *prayōjana*. *Samāsa* takes place there, since it is *antaraṅga*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्, अमैव यत्तुल्यविधानमुपपदं तत्र यथा स्याद्, अमा चान्येन च यत् तुल्यविधानं तत्र मा भूद् इति । अग्रे भोजम्, अग्रे भुक्त्वा ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that *samāsa* takes place between *upapada* and *avyaya* only when the former is read with *am* alone and it does not take place when it is read with *am* and *others*, as in *agrē bhōjam* and *agrē bhuktvā*.

NOTE:—*Am* denotes *ṇamul* and *khamuñ*. The *upapada* is read with *ṇamul* alone (as in *Svādumi ṇamul* 3, 4, 26) forms the compound (*svāduṅkāram*); but if it is read with *kṛtvā* also (as in *Vibhāṣāgrēprathamapūrvēṣu* 3, 4, 24) there is no *samāsa*.

अग्रादिष्वप्राप्तविधेः समासप्रतिषेधं चोदयिष्यति । स न वक्तव्यो भवति

He is going to read the *vārttika Agrādiṣvaprāptavidhēḥ samāsapratiṣēdhaḥ* under the *sūtra* 3, 4, 24 enjoining the *samāsapratiṣēdha*. It need not be read.

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः (2, 2, 23)

शेष इत्युच्यते ; कश्च शेषो नाम ?

The word *śēṣaḥ* is read. What does it denote?

येषां पदानामनुक्तः समासः स शेषः

Śēṣa is the *samāsa* among words not yet read.

शेषवचनं पदतश्चेन्नाभावात्

If *śēṣa* denotes the *samāsa* among words not yet read, it is inappropriate, since it does not exist.

शेषवचनं पदतश्चेत् तन्न

If *śēṣa* denotes the *samāsa* among words not yet read, it is inappropriate.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अभावात् । न हि सन्ति तानि पदानि येषां पदानामनुक्तः समासः

Since it does not exist. For there are no words whose *samāsa* has not yet been enjoined.

अर्थतस्तर्हि Let it then be in relation to *artha*.

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अर्थतस्तर्हि शेषग्रहणं, येष्वर्थेषु अनुक्तः समासः स शेषः

Let, then, the word *śēṣa* have its relation to *artha*, so that it may denote the *samāsa* whose meaning has not yet been stated.

अर्थतश्चेदविशिष्टम् If it is related to *artha*, it is in the same boat.

अर्थतश्चेदविशिष्टमेतद् भवति

If it is related to *artha*, it is in the same boat.

कुतः? With what?

पदतः । न हि सन्ति तेऽर्था येष्वर्थेष्वनुक्तः समासः

With *pada*. There is no *artha* with reference to which *samāsa* has not been enjoined.

[1] त्रिकतस्तर्हि शेषग्रहणम् । यस्य त्रिकस्य अनुक्तः समासः स शेषः

Śēṣa, then, is related to the case having three numbers. *Śēṣa* is the *samāsa* of the word in that case which was not enjoined.

कस्य चानुक्तः? To which case was it not enjoined?

प्रथमायाः To the word in the first case.

TWENTYSECOND ĀHNIKA ENDS.

(Second *adhyāya*, second *pāda*, first *āhnika*).

VOLUME V ENDS.

1. There may have been the *vārttika Trikatas tarhi* before this.

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CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
7	30	*pravacana*	*paravacana*
34	9	अन्तोदात्तर्थे	अन्तोदात्तार्थे
47	3	रुव्याख्यौ	स्व्याख्यौ
53	20	*brāmaṇāya*	*brāhmaṇāya*
70	4	*sarvanāmathāna*	*sarvanāmasthāna*
88	17	-शिषकौ	-विशेषकौ
	19	*Dēvadattvam*	*Dēvadattatvam*
92	24	चोरेभ्या-	चोरेभ्य-
99	24	निर्भज्यये	निर्भज्यते
113	5	ह्येतद्	ह्येतद्
114	1	mean	meant
123	9	क	किं
129		Take the first two lines at the top to the top of p. 128.	
140	2	thy	they
150	32	*Maābhāṣhya*	*Mahābhāṣya*
155	3	*auuvṛtti*	*anuvṛtti*
160	32 (end)	संप्रयुज्यावहै	संप्रयुज्यावहे
199	8	*s mbaddh-*	*sambaddh-*
209	22	*Samartkaḥ*	*Samarthaḥ*
215	14	अघिकरणम्	अधिकरणम्
232	11	*vispaṣṭ-*	*vispaṣṭa-*
239	22	एतैश्चै	एतैश्च
251	19	गुणवचननेन	गुणवचनेन
264	2	ग्रहणेणार्थः	ग्रहणेनार्थः
280	5, 7	*ēkabhikṣa*, *ēkabikṣā*	*ēkabhikṣā*
288	13	*tilakṛṣṇaḥ*	*tilakṛṣṇāḥ*
	28	Add "is" after too	
291	26	कक्तव्यः	वक्तव्यः
295	12, 16	एतत्-	एत-

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(*b*) Do. 2nd edition (in press)
2 Do. Vol II (āhnikas 4–6)
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